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FOR SCHOOLS AND FAMILIES.

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THE HISTORY OF GREECE,

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THE
HISTORY OF GREECE:

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 1833.

FOR SCHOOLS AND FAMILIES.

LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

THIS volume differs from any other "History of Greece" known to the writer, in bringing the narrative down nearly to the present time, and in presenting the whole course of events in that light which is shed on them by Christianity. Besides attempting to describe the scenery, the persons, and the transactions contained in Grecian History, the writer has aimed at embodying all the information he has found scattered through works which are not strictly historical. With a view to this, the labours of the German, as well as English writers, have been carefully examined.

The information thus collected has been used with advantage in the instruction of a large family, as well as of a much larger circle of educated young persons; and it is now offered to the public as a work on the chief points of Grecian History for English schools of both sexes, and for family reading.

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THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

Geography of Greece—Divisions—Central Greece and Peloponnesus—Account
—the different Countries—Rivers—Mountains, etc.—Islands of Greece—
Climate—Vegetation.

1. "GREECE" is the English form of the Roman name for the country, which its ancient inhabitants called *Hellas*; a projection from the main continent of Europe at its south-east extremity, 220 (geographical) miles long, and 140 miles in its greatest breadth. It lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, within the 20th and 25th degrees of east longitude. Greece is separated, on the north, by the Cambunian mountains from Macedonia; and its coasts are washed on the east and south by the *Ægean*, and on the west by the *Ionian*, sea. The southern point is opposite to one of the fairest regions of Africa, and at an almost equal distance from Asia Minor. The irregularity of its shape, and the great number of gulfs and bays along its sea coast, made it a country favourable for navigation, and for commerce with the three quarters of the globe.

2. Greece has been divided into *Northern Greece*, extending from the Cambunian mountains to the mountain chain of *Æta* and *Pindus*; having the *Maliac gulf* on the east, and the *Ambracian gulf* on the west: *Central Greece*, or *Hellas*, reaching from mount *Æta* to the isthmus of *Corinth*; and *Peloponnesus*, the southern peninsula, now called the *Morea*. *Northern Greece* includes *Thessaly* on the east, and *Epirus* on the west. *Thessaly*, the largest of the Grecian countries, and the most fertile, is sixty miles from south to north, and sixty-four from east to west.

and contained the territories of Estiæotis, Pelasgiotis, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, and Magnesia, Perrhæbia, and some others of less note.

3. The mountains of Thessaly are Pindus, Othrys, and Cæta, in the south; and Ossa and Olympus in the north. Between Ossa and Olympus lies the beautiful vale of Tempé, watered by the Peneus. The Apidanus and some lesser streams are also rivers of Thessaly. Epirus, a wild country, next in extent to Thessaly, included Dodona, Molossis, and Thresprotia. To these, Illyria and Macedonia have been added by some writers.

4. *Central Greece*, or *Hellas*, comprises Attica, Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, Doris, Ætolia, and Acarnania.

5. *Attica* is a "foreland," stretching towards the south-east, sixty miles in length, and twenty-four miles in its greatest breadth. Its mountains are Laurium, containing silver mines; Hymettus, famed for honey; Pentelicus, abounding in marble; and the headland of Sminium. Its rivers are the Cephissus and the Ilissus. Its only city is Athens, having three harbours at Piræus, Phalærus, and Munychius; but it contained some hamlets—Marathon, Eleusis, Decælea, and others.

6. *Megaris*, the smallest territory of Greece, only sixteen miles long, and with a breadth varying from four to eight miles, adjoined the isthmus of Corinthus, and contained one city—Megara.

7. *Bœotia*, a mountainous country, and abounding with marshes fifty-two miles long, and from twenty-eight to thirty-two miles broad, contained more independent cities than any other part of Greece—Thebes, Plataea, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Chæroneæ, Lebæda, Leuctra, and Orchomenus—all celebrated in Grecian history. The principal rivers of Bœotia are Asopus and Ismenus; its principal mountains, Helicon and Cythæron. The lakes Copais and Illycia are in this country.

8. *Phocis*, forty-eight miles long, and from four to eight miles broad, is watered by the Cephissus. In this territory is Mount Parnassus, with the famed oracle of Apollo, at Delphi. The other principal cities are Blateæ, in the interior; and Crissa, with the harbour of Cirrha, on the coast.

9. *Locris* is the name of a small district on the eastern

side, containing the city of Opus, and the Pass of Thermynpolæ. There is another Locris in the west, on the gulf of Corinth, having one inland city, Amphissa; and one city on the coast, Naupactus.

10. *Doris* is on the south side of mount Cæta, from eight to twelve miles in length and in breadth.

11. *Ætolia* is one of the largest but least cultivated countries of Greece, about fifty miles long, and thirty miles broad. Its cities are Calydon and Thermus. The Evenus and the Achelous, the largest river in Greece, flow through it.

12. The Peninsula, or Peloponnesus, is divided into Arcadia, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Argolis, Achaia, Sicyonia, and Corinth.

13. *Arcadia* is a mountainous country in the centre, rich in pastures, forty-eight miles long, and thirty-six miles broad. The principal mountains are Erymanthus and Cyllene. The principal rivers are the Erymanthus and the Alpheus. The lake Styx is in this country. The capital city was called Megalopolis.

14. *Laconia* is another mountainous country, sixty-six miles long, by thirty-six as its greatest breadth. The mountains are Taygetus, and the promontories Malea, and Tenarium, near the sea. The chief city is Sparta.

15. West of Laconia is *Messenia*, subject to the Spartans, a rich, level country, nearly thirty miles long, and thirty-six miles in breadth. Its capital is Messene, and it was guarded by the strong towns at Ithomé and Eira, at Methone and at Pylus, the only complete harbour in the peninsula, known by the modern name, Navarino.

16. *Elis*, including Triphylia, on the west side of the peninsula, is sixty miles long, and twenty-eight broad. Pisa, and the ancient town of Olympia, were situated near the river Alpheus. Elis, Cyllene, and Pylus were cities in the north. There was another city, called Pylus, in Triphylia. Besides the Alpheus, the principal rivers are the Peneus and the Sellis.

17. On the east side of the Peloponnesus, forming, with Attica, the Sinus Saronicus, is *Argolis*, sixty-four miles in length, and varying in breadth from eight to twenty-eight miles. Its principal cities are Argos, Epidaurus, and Mycenæ.

18. The north coast of the Peloponnesus is Achaia—more anciently Ionia; fifty-six miles long, and from twelve to twenty-four miles broad. The most remarkable cities are Pellene, Dyme, and Patræ.

19. *Sicyonia* is the name of a small territory sixteen miles long, and eight miles broad, containing the cities of Sicyon and Phlius.

20. *Corinth*, of the same extent as Sicyonia, adjoins the narrow strip of land which unites the Peloponnesus with the continent. Its city, anciently Ephyre, is Corinth, having one port, Lechæum, on the Corinthian, or Western, gulf; and another, Cenchreæ, on the Saronic, or Eastern, gulf.

21. Near the west of Greece, in the Ionian sea, are the following islands:—Corcyra, opposite Epirus, thirty-two miles long, and from eight to sixteen miles broad, having a city of the same name,—a Corinthian colony; Leucadia, opposite Acarnania, with a city and also a promontory, both called Leucas. Off the same coast is Same, or Cephalonia, more anciently Scheria, with the cities Same and Cephalonia. The small isle of Ithaca is near Cephalonia. The isle of Zacynthus is opposite Elis. Near the south coast is Cythera, with a town of the same name. In the Saronic gulf, on the east of Greece, are Ægina and Salamis. Eubœa, the largest of the Greek islands, seventy-six miles long, and from twelve to sixteen broad, is separated from Boœtia by the strait Euripus; Chalcis and Eretria are cities in the centre of this island; the city of Oreus, and the promontory of Artemisium, are on the north.

22. Two islands, Sciathus and Halonesus, are opposite the coast of Thessaly, and beyond these are Thasus, Imbrus, Samothrace, and Lemnos. The islands of the Ægean sea are in two groups—the Cyclades, on the west, and the Sporades, on the east. The most remarkable islands of this Archipelago, with cities of the same names, are Andros, Delos, Paros, Caxos, and Melos.

23. Crete and Cyprus are well known islands in the Mediterranean. Crete, south of Greece, with its Mount Ida, is one hundred and forty miles long, and from twenty-four to forty broad. Its cities are Cydonia, Gortyna, and Cnossus. Cyprus, between Crete and the Asiatic coast, is one hundred and twenty miles long, and from twenty to eighty broad. Its chief cities are Salamis, Paphos, and Citium.

24. The general character of Greece is that of a country intersected by chains of lofty mountains, some crested with snow, and others covered with forests. Between the mountains are fertile plains, and valleys, watered by numerous streams, some of which continue open to the sea-coast.—This country was anciently separated into numerous territories, each territory commanded by an independent city. The climate varied with the situations of different places, and its productions varied with the irregularities of its surface and the materials of the soil. As a whole, it was rich in forests, minerals, grain, cattle, and fruits.

25. The character of the inhabitants was as various as the physical conditions of the country, and was, doubtless, influenced indirectly by those conditions out of which their national character and their social institutions arose. These institutions, and their effects, will be traced in the following history; in the mean time, we may not forget the great truth, that *the origin and progress of nations are regulated by the hand of God*. He fixes the bounds of their habitations. In all their institutions, and in all their doings, they fulfil the unknown purposes of his providence.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

Detail of the various races—Pelasgi—Hellenes, and others—Settlement of the early Greeks.

26. THE people occupying Greece in the earliest ages to which their traditions reach, were descended from numerous tribes of barbarians coming in successive immigrations from the east. The *Pelasgi* are reported to have settled in the Peloponnesus, under Inachus, their leader, about eighteen hundred years before Christ. To them are ascribed, not very accurately, the Cyclopian works, or most ancient monuments, of the country. From the Peloponnesus, they spread over Attica; thence they were led by Achæus, Phthius, and Pelasgus, into Thessaly, where they employed themselves in agriculture, till they were driven out by the Hellenes. They then remained in Arcadia and in Dodona;

but, driven from thence by the Hellenes, they wandered into Asia Minor, into Italy, and to Crete, and other islands. It is probable that many other barbarous tribes were mingled with the *Pelasgi*, or occupied different parts of the country at the same time; that the name *Pelasgi* has been given to some of these tribes; and that some of the *Pelasgi* are spoken of under various names. There is evidence that the Thracians occupied a considerable place and influence among the earliest inhabitants of Greece.

27. The Hellenes are traced first in Phocis, near Parnassus, under the government of Deucalion. Driven from this territory by a flood, they passed into Thessaly, and eventually took possession of the whole land to which they gave their name.

28. The posterity of Deucalion branched out in four divisions, the Æolians, Ionians, Dorians, and Achæans. At a very early period there were colonies in Greece from Phœnicia. At the time, it is supposed, when the Israelites led by Joshua took possession of part of that country, the colony of Cecrops settled in Attica; the colony of Danaus, from Egypt, settled in Argos; the colony of Cadmus, from Phœnicia, settled in Bœotia; and the colony of Pelops, from Mysia, settled in Argos.

29. Owing to the distinct origins, and consequently mixed character of the Hellenic nation, the arts of civilization, imported from other countries, derived a peculiar character from the people who received them. The settlement of these Asiatic and Egyptian colonies in Greece, it should be borne in mind, is not matter of authentic history: it is the report of local legends and national traditions, supported by monuments existing at the time when written history began. Many controversies respecting them have arisen among learned antiquaries and historians, which, in a work like the present, must be passed over. We can only state what appears to be probable, after examining conflicting opinions. The reader of the Bible will find the germs of truth on this subject in the book of Genesis; and he will contrast the uncertainties which cloud the early history of Greece with the simplicity and accuracy of the most ancient of all histories, that which is given in the books of Moses by inspiration from God. That such settlements of foreigners in Greece took place, is rendered highly probable

from what is known of the early history of the nations from which they are said to come ; from the nearness of those nations to the eastern side of Greece ; and from the resemblance of many things in the institutions of Greece to those of the nations from which these settlers are said to have wandered. The entire people thus composed were rude, restless, and warlike, and by slow degrees rose to that state of refinement which made their country the glory of the world.

30. The four divisions of the Hellenes occupied those parts of Greece to which their names are attached. The *Æolians* spread over the largest space. The *Achæans* are the most famed in poetry. But the *Dorians* and *Ionians*, in time, surpassed the others. The principal seats of the *Æolians* were in the north of the *Bœotian* territory, in *Corinth*, and in the western side of *Peloponnesus*, to which places they were guided apparently by their preference for regions near the sea. The *Dorians*, after many adventures and migrations involved in much obscurity, settled near the *Ætan* mountains, from which they went forth to conquer the *Peloponnesus*. The *Achæans* predominated in the southern part of *Thessaly*, and on the eastern side of the *Peloponnesus* and *Lacedæmonia*. The *Ionians* occupied *Attica*, and the contiguous parts of *Peloponnesus*.

CHAPTER III.

THE HEROIC AGE OF GREECE.

The fabulous account of *Hercules* and his exploits—*Theseus*—Institution of the *Isthmian games*—*Minos* of *Crete*—The *Argonautic expedition*—The siege of *Troy*—Manners of the *Greeks*—*Grecian mythology*—*Festivals*—*Belief of futurity*—Its influence on their morals and happiness—The government of *Greece* in the *Heroic Age*—*Arts of civilized life*—*Introduction of letters* by *Cadmus*—*Agriculture*—*Navigation*—*Knowledge of the earth and the heavens*—Their excellence in war—Manners of the *Heroic Greeks*—General character—*Domestic habits*.

31. THE time which elapsed between the settlement of these various tribes, and the return of the *Greeks* from *Troy*, is called—The *Heroic Age*. In an age of tumult and war, the mightiest and most successful chiefs became the largest holders of land, and subjected the weaker chiefs,

and the people, to their authority. Their names and exploits have been handed down, mixed with much that is fictitious, in the early songs and traditions embodied in the most ancient Grecian poetry. As these poetic fables appear to be founded on facts, and to preserve the ancient legends of this interesting people, they cannot be entirely neglected. We shall give a brief account of them, without attempting the difficult task of separating the fabulous from the true.

32. The story of Hercules, or Heracles, appears to consist of several distinct traditions. In one view, it represents the exploits of a real hero: in another view, it describes, under the fiction of this hero, the works of a community. In yet another view, it is a mythical or fabulous representation of the progress of an eastern religion. According to the poetical traditions, Hercules, a descendant from Jupiter, was born at Thebes, where he slew the lion of Cithæra, which devoured the cattle of Thebes, among whose herdsmen he was trained; delivered Thebes from its subjection to Egeus, king of Orchomenus; and married the daughter of Creon. The "*twelve labours*" of Hercules were performed in obedience to Eurysthenes, king of Mycenæ. Of these supernatural labours, the *first* was, to bring the skin of the Nemean lion; the *second*, to destroy the hydra; the *third*, to catch the hind of Artemis; the *fourth*, to take the Erymanthean boar alive; the *fifth*, to cleanse the stables of Augias, king of Elis; the *sixth*, to drive the water-fowl off the lake Stympthalis; the *seventh*, to fetch the Cretan bull; the *eighth*, to bring to Mycenæ the mares of Diomedes; the *ninth*, to bring the girdle of Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons; the *tenth*, to fetch, from the isle of Erythea, the oxen of Gergon; the *eleventh*, to bring apples from the Hesperides; the *twelfth*, to conduct Cerberus, the watch-dog of hell, from under the earth.—The number of these labours, and other considerations, make it probable that the progress of the sun in the heavens was thus described. Besides these "*labours*," Hercules is celebrated in some of the ancient stories for having formed the lake that nearly covered the plain of Orchomenus, by stopping the opening through which the river Cephissus escaped from a passage under the earth. In other legends, he figures as a warrior at the head of conquering armies, and forming alliances; or as a lonely adventurer wandering along the shores of Western Europe.

33. Theseus was a near relative of Hercules, whose exploits excited him to follow his example, by sallying forth to destroy the chieftains that were spreading through the land. His first encounter was with Periphetes, a robber chief, in the mountains of Epidauria. Theseus attacked and slew him. He then proceeded, with the brazen club which he had taken from Periphetes, to the isthmus of Corinth, where he slew a famous robber, Simnis, by fastening him, as he had done his victims, to the opposite branches of two pines bent towards each other, which, in recovering suddenly from the force which bent them, rent his body in pieces. His next attack was upon a wild sow, or, according to others, a female robber, of the name of Phœci, that infested the inhabitants of Crommyon. Journeying along the mountainous region bordering on the Saronic gulf, he delivered the country from the powerful robbers that had their strongholds there, and slew Cercyon; he also slew Procrustes, by stretching him on one of the beds on which he had tortured those who fell into his hands. When Theseus reached the banks of the river Cephissus, he was hospitably entertained by the superintendents of the mysteries of Ceres. Arriving at Athens, he made himself known to Ægeus the king as his son. Being acknowledged by the king, he courted the favour of the people, by going out against a fierce bull in Marathon, the terror of the neighbourhood. Theseus brought the bull alive to Athens, and, after leading him in triumph through the city, offered him in sacrifice to Apollo.

34. At this time, it was the practice of the Athenians to send seven youths and seven virgins, every tenth year, to Crete, for the purpose of appeasing the vengeance of Heaven, which had visited them with pestilence and famine. These tributary youths were said by some to be cast by Minos, king of Crete, into a labyrinth, where they were destroyed by the Minotaur—a fabulous monster. When the ship came for the usual tribute, Theseus offered himself. On his arrival at Crete, Ariadne, the king's daughter, fell in love with him. She gave him a thread, by which he explored the windings of the labyrinth. There he slew the Minotaur,* and returned to Athens with Ariadne and his Athenian companions. The vessel in which he returned

* It is most likely that *Taurus* was the name of a man.

was kept by the Athenians for a thousand years. After the death of Ægeus, Theseus gathered the inhabitants of Attica under one commonwealth at Athens. He instituted the Isthmian games, in honour of Neptune. He made a voyage to the Euxine, and performed the wonders related by the poets, in the war with the Amazons. His fame is connected, further, with the battles of the Lapithæ against the Centaurs, and with the recovery of the bodies of those that fell before Thebes. His later years were embittered by factions in Athens. Leaving the city, with curses on the ungrateful inhabitants, he sought repose in the isle of Seyros; but he was thrown headlong from a rock, by Lycomedes, the king of the island, and killed. Long afterwards, his body is said to have been removed to Athens, where it was laid near the Gymnasium, in the middle of the city, and honoured with solemn sacrifices. As in the case of Hercules, facts are blended with the fables of the poets. But such are the earliest fragments of Athenian history.

35. Minos, of Crete, having reduced the tribes of that island under his government, made himself master of many islands in the Ægean sea; sent out colonies in various directions, and was victorious over the inhabitants both of Megara and of Attica; and at length was cut off in Sicily. He was more eminent as a lawgiver than even as a warrior. His laws and civil institutions became the model for the other states of Greece.

36. The Argonautic Expedition, stripped of its poetical embellishments, leaves little for history to record. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, built a large vessel, which he armed with a band of heroic adventurers from several parts of Greece, and sailed to Colchis, near the Euxine Sea, from whence he carried off the golden fleece, and Medea, the daughter of Ætus the king. Under the veil of these names, it is supposed, the early contests of the Greeks with the Asiatic nations are set forth, together with the religious connexions of the earlier inhabitants of Greece.

37. The Siege of Troy has been rendered famous in all lands by the "Iliad of Homer." It has been disputed, among modern historians, whether Homer was a real or a fictitious person; whether, if he were a real person, he composed the Iliad, or whether it was a compilation from the poems of more ancient times; and whether this poem,

or these poems, were written or merely recited from memory. However these questions may be determined by scholars, it is certain that the "Iliad" has its foundation in real facts; and that it contains the richest treasure of materials for illustrating the manners of the fathers of that wonderful people whose authentic history is so closely connected with the progress of society and of all the arts.

38. The northern parts of Asia Minor appear to have been occupied by tribes closely connected with those which settled in Greece. The first settlement on the western coast was that of Troy. From the lofty mountain of Ida, a projecting ridge commanded a fertile though narrow plain, watered by the Simois and the Scamander, and extending northward to the Hellespont, and westward to the *Ægean* sea. This plain took its name from Dardanus; and from Tros, and Ilus, descendants from Dardanus, were derived the names Iliou and Troy, applied to the city besieged by the Greeks. Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited Greece in one of those wild excursions so common in that age. He was received hospitably by Menelaus, king of Sparta. In revenge of some real or supposed injury from the Greeks, he carried off Helen, wife of Menelaus, from Sparta to Troy. As Menelaus was one of the greatest princes in Greece, and brother to Agamemnon, king of Argos, all the Grecian chiefs, excepting the Acarnanians, assembled at the call of Agamemnon, to avenge the insult and the breach of hospitality which had been offered by the Trojan prince to the entire Greek nation. It was while the fleet was detained at Aulis, a seaport of *Bœotia*, by unfavourable winds, that Agamemnon is reported to have sacrificed his daughter to the gods, to secure a safe passage to Troy. Their voyage prospered. From twelve hundred vessels, each containing from fifty to a hundred and twenty men, an army of a hundred thousand men landed on the coast, and, by their strength, compelled the Trojans to keep within the walls of their city. But the walls were so strong, that the Greeks were defied from within. To support themselves in this situation, the Greeks wasted the surrounding country, and sent out detachments to cultivate the neglected lands of the Thracian Chersonese. Meanwhile, the Trojans were assisted by the Macedonians and the Thracians, and by the Asiatic nations to the east and to the south; and the siege was prolonged for ten years. In the tenth year, the Greeks

obtained an entrance into the city by the well-known stratagem of the wooden horse. Troy was plundered. Priam was slain. The queen, the princesses, and the only surviving prince, were led away as captives by the conquerors.

39. The absence of the chiefs, for so many years, occasioned great confusion and many disasters in Greece. Agamemnon's queen, Clytemnestra, had been seduced by Ægisthus, his kinsman, who usurped his throne; and the monarch himself, on his return from Troy, was traitorously murdered. Only one of five Boeotian chiefs returned. Many suffered shipwreck in the attempt to return. Ulysses, of Ithaca, was tossed about on unknown seas. Menelaus, for whose sake the expedition was undertaken, only reached his home after long wanderings over distant seas and countries. Ajax perished at sea. Those who reached their home found their places occupied by usurpers—their lands overrun by enemies, or wasted by neglect—their families ruined by jealousy and discord, and their cities disturbed by factions and seditions.

40. When we separate the poetical inventions which give so much splendour to the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," from the numberless pictures they contain of national manners, we gather from them an almost complete view of the state of Grecian society in what has been called the Heroic Age. Beginning with religion, the simple descriptions of Homer, compared with the works of Hesiod, have afforded us a lively exhibition of the objects of Grecian worship, their ceremonies, and the influence of these superstitions on the minds and the characters of the people. We may take a brief survey of the gods of the Grecian mythology—their religious rites—their oracles—their festivals—their doctrines—and their morals.

41. The gods of the Grecian mythology were partly the same with those of the Egyptians, and of the Asiatic nations; partly their own personifications of the powers of nature, and of human qualities; and partly the deified heroes of their own poetic history. The gods worshipped by the Greeks in common with the nations from whom they sprang, or with whom they mingled, were imaginary beings, superior to men, in power, wisdom, and immortality; yet not without the weakness, passions, and even vices of our fallen nature. Their most ancient traditions looked back to a state of much

greater simplicity in the religious views of their ancestors. "Once," says Plato, referring to these traditions, "one God governed the universe; but a great and extraordinary change taking place in the nature of men and things, infinitely for the worse, (for originally there was perfect virtue and perfect happiness on earth,) the command then devolved on Jupiter, with many inferior deities to preside over different departments under him." Of these fancied gods, not even Jupiter, who presided over them, was regarded as almighty. He was subject to Fate. Many infirmities and passions are ascribed to him. He is even represented as prompting perjury and treachery.—Fate was sometimes personified as one being; sometimes as three. The Furies, or avenging deities, were at one time confounded with the Fates, and at another time represented as attending them. Wisdom was personified in Minerva, heroism in Mars, beauty and love in Venus. The grandeur of Grecian scenery suggested to the liveliness of Grecian fancy a god in every element and in every spot.

42. The following beautiful passage, from one of the most philosophic of poets, describes the manner in which the fancy of the Greeks multiplied their gods:—

"In that fair clime, the lonely herdsman, stretch'd
On the soft grass through half a summer's day,
With music lull'd his indolent repose:
And in some fit of weariness, if he,
When his own breath was silent, chanced to hear
A distant strain, far sweeter than the sounds
Which his poor skill could make. his fancy fetch'd,
E'en from the blazing chariot of the sun,
A beardless youth, who touch'd a golden lute,
And filled the illumined groves with ravishment.
The nightly hunter, lifting a bright eye
Up towards the crescent moon, with grateful heart,
Call'd on the lovely wand'rer who bestow'd
That timely light, to share his joyous sport:
And hence, a beaming goddess with her nymphs
Across the lawn, and through the darksome grove,
Not unaccompanied with tuneful notes,
By echo multiplied from rock or cave,
Swept in the storm of chase; as moon and stars
Glance rapidly along the clouded heaven,
When winds are blowing strong. The traveller slaked
His thirst from rill or gushing fount, and thank'd
The Naiad. Sunbeams, upon distant hills
Gliding apace, with shadows in their train,
With small help from fancy, he transformed
Into fleet Orade sporting visibly.
The zephyrs fanning, as they pass'd, their wings,
Lack'd not, for love, fair objects whom they woo'd
With gentle whisper. Wither'd boughs grotesque,
Stripp'd of their leaves and twigs by hoary age,
From depth of shaggy covert peeping forth

In the low vale, or on steep mountain side;
 And, sometimes, intermix'd with stirring horns
 Of the live deer, or goat's depending beard,—
 These were the lurking satyrs, a wild brood
 Of gamesome deities; or Pan himself,
 The simple shepherd's awe-inspiring god!"

In the earliest times, these divinities amounted to more than thirty thousand. In those times, there were no idols, or temples. Every king was a priest, a minister of the gods, and accountable to them for his conduct as a ruler. The gods were to be appeased by sacrifices, by offerings of fruits, oils, and fragrant odours, and by dedicating lands and treasures to their service. The knowledge of futurity was supposed to be gained from the gods by various means—by the appearance of the shades of the dead—by omens, such as casual words, the flight or the notes of birds, thunder, lightning, eclipses, the entrails of sacrificial victims, and dreams; but, especially, by oracles. Of these oracles, the most celebrated were the oracle of Jupiter, at Dodona, and the oracle of Apollo, at Delphi. Delphi was built around one of the openings of a deep cavern in the side of Mount Parnassus, from which a vapour issued. Around were numerous echoes. Over the ascending vapour, the Pythia, sitting on a sacred tripod, was believed to receive the inspirations of Apollo. The city was held sacred. The treasures and the oracle were under the guardianship of a representative assembly from all parts of Greece—the Amphictyons, which held one of its annual meetings at Delphi.

43. The religious ceremonies were conducted by the principal inhabitants of the city, who claimed a near relation to Apollo. The oracles were consulted on all great occasions. In the course of time, they became the great engines of political influence, and directed the movements of the nation.

44. The principal festivals of Greece began in later times; but they were the carrying out of the principles of the Heroic Age. The notions of a future state, among the Greeks, were vague, poetical, inconsistent, melancholy, and little, if at all, connected with the expectation of rewards or punishments. The soul was supposed to pass through the wounds or the lips of the dying, to become the shadowy form of the living person, and to go through a sort of mimicry of the actions which had been performed in life,

feeble in memory and in reason, and refreshed by the steam of slaughtered victims. Some inhabitants of Hades were believed to be doomed to hopeless toil and thirst; the enemies of Jupiter were consigned to a dreary prison, with a floor of brass, closed by gates of iron; and those who obtained the favour of the gods enjoyed perpetual calm and sunshine, and gentle breezes, in some happy islands of the sea. The heroes were raised by their virtues to the company of the gods, and their memory was perpetuated by funeral rites. Their tombs were sacred, and often became the sites of temples, in which they received worship, little, if at all, inferior to the worship of the gods themselves. These and other invisible beings were believed to have an influence in human affairs; and all were included in the general notion expressed by the word *dæmon*.

45. It is not easy to understand what was the effect produced by these highly imaginative superstitions on the morals and the happiness of the people; but on comparing the views of several writers, we fear that the darker conclusions approach nearest to the truth. Among a rude people, of violent passions, sturdy in asserting their independence, and fierce in their resentments, the displeasure of the gods, and the opinions held by their fellow-men of such as dared that displeasure, acted on the imagination, and, through the imagination, on the reason and the passions. These superstitions had a powerful influence in forming and cultivating the national character. They inspired brave and generous sentiments. They promoted civilisation. But there was no knowledge of the true God. There was no Moral Perfection to command reverence. Religion addressed the imagination, not the conscience. There was no Truth. There could be no hearty and humble worship. The future world was a land of dreams, without a ray of that light which makes the Christian religion at once the restraint upon our passions, and the solace of our griefs; guiding us through a life of confidence, holiness, and hope, to a resurrection from the dead, and an immortality of blessedness with God in heaven.

46. The GOVERNMENT of Greece, in the Heroic Age, was divided into the numerous independent territories which corresponded with the natural features of the country. While each separate community had its own rules and

government, the general similarity of their situations, of their origin, of their wants, and of their character, produced, also, a general similarity in their civil and political institutions. In the earliest traditions, we trace a distinction, which was never lost, between slaves and freemen. There was no less distinction between ordinary freemen and their chiefs. The chiefs descended from illustrious ancestors, and enabled, by their bodily exercises, their skill in fighting, their spirit of adventure, and their wealth, to rise superior to the vulgar, maintained their superiority by the same qualities. The chiefs who excelled other chiefs, as those chiefs excelled other men, were kings—the commanders in war—the officiating priests—and the fountains of justice. The kings, in addition to their patrimony and personal wealth, were endowed with royal domains. They received presents from the people, and they were frequently invited to banquets. The crown was hereditary. Usages were rendered binding by the lapse of time; but there were no written laws. Both natural and religious feelings bound men by common ties of blood and of worship; and offences against them were compensated by heavy fines, or expiated by voluntary exile and sacrificial rites. A fugitive was regarded as a sacred person; and it was felt to be an act of piety to shelter him, and to purify him from the crime which had driven him from his home. Public offences were considered as offences against the gods rather than against the community, and they were not punished with death, excepting on very extraordinary occasions.

47. The relation of one state to another was not regulated by any fixed principles. Individual aggressions on the inhabitants of other states were left to individuals to redress or revenge as they could. The poor, in such cases, would be the greatest sufferers, as the rich and powerful would protect themselves. In a country bordering so much on the sea, piracy was common; and many such cases were constantly occurring. It sometimes happened that one state formed an intimate alliance with another for mutual protection: these alliances, however, were distinct from the union of the Amphictyons, which has been mentioned in connexion with Delphi. The expedition to Troy was the first display of national spirit and political union, in which the Hellenes regarded themselves as one people.

48. The arts of civilized life appeared at a very early period in Greece. They were imported from nations already more advanced, especially from the Egyptians and Phœnicians. Marriage is said to have been introduced by Cecrops. The olive, the vine, corn, the making of cheese, and the domestication of bees, are reported to have been brought to the wild hunters of the Grecian mountains by Aristæus, from Africa.—The introduction of letters is involved in obscurity. The tradition is, that Cadmus brought them from Phœnicia. Herodotus adopts this tradition, and explains, in part, the changes made in the Phœnician letters by the Greeks. The changes were slow, and there were many hindrances to the progress of writing, of which not the least was the want of such a material as paper is to the moderns. It is probable that the ignorance of letters was at first favourable to the cultivation of poetry. Verse was easily remembered. It was pleasing from its harmonious sounds. It was a natural vehicle for the thoughts and feelings of a sensitive and imaginative people, living in the midst of the most inspiring scenes, and treasuring in their memory the deeds of heroes and gods. The poet was a singer and a musician. His songs were history, poetry, laws, morality, philosophy, religion. He was a dignified and sacred person, and found everywhere a home.

49. The culture of the soil attained a high degree of perfection in the Heroic Age. Wines, that kept for eleven years, were made from the grape; oil from the olive; and the fig-tree, the pear, the pomegranate, and the apple flourished long before the orange, the apricot, the peach, and other delicate fruits of Asia were known. But the riches of the Greeks, in this age, consisted chiefly in their flocks.

50. It is remarkable that the private buildings of the wealthier Greeks, in this early age, were not inferior to those of later and more luxurious times, in which so much magnificence was displayed in public edifices. They were built of polished stone, contained spacious apartments, not for convenience only, but for state; these were furnished with baths, and richly adorned. Sculpture was in a rude state, as compared with that to which it afterwards attained. The arts of working in metals and ivory, dyeing with rich colours, embroidery, enamelling, gilding, and setting amber

in ornaments, are alluded to in Homer; but it is probable that they were the productions of foreign ingenuity. In painting, the heroic Greeks do not seem to have made any progress. Their music was simple, touching, and suited to the feelings and imaginations of a peculiarly excitable people. Their knowledge of the art of healing was rude and imperfect, confined to the domestic use of herbs and charms.

51. Their Navigation was very different from that to which Englishmen are accustomed. Their ships were large open boats, manned with rowers, and, though furnished with sails, they made a very imperfect use of them. Their voyages were almost confined to the *Ægean* sea; though, on some rare occasions, they ventured from the coasts, or were driven from them by the winds. Their knowledge of the earth was very limited; and their notions of the heavens were confined to a knowledge of a few of the principal constellations. Their commerce was not extensive, and was chiefly carried on by the Phœnicians.

52. Their grand art was War. The descriptions of Homer make the modern reader familiar with their weapons, their defensive armour, and their manner of using chariots on the field of battle. Strangers to the modern science and skill displayed in the combination of masses, their battles were more dependent on the courage of the chiefs than on the arrangement of their force; and more was owing to their strength and bravery, than to their discipline.

53. The general manners of the ancient Greeks display, on the whole, a pleasing and dignified picture of human life. Simplicity of feeling, reverence for age, and delicacy towards the female sex, were combined with elevation of sentiment, derived from their belief of the interest taken in them by the gods. Their virtues and defects belonged to a state of society raised above the barbarism of savages, but containing only the outlines and rudiments of the high civilisation afterwards attained. Allowing for the differences arising from their climate, their religion, and their connexion with nations more advanced, the heroic Greeks bear no slight resemblance to the people of western Europe at a similar stage in their progress. The chiefs and clans of

the Scottish highlands, before the union of the two kingdoms, may be taken as an illustration: the same hospitality, darkened by vehement passions; the same reliance on the higher qualities of the few, rewarded by protection to the many; the same haughtiness and vindictiveness; and the same mixture of boisterous festivity with tenderness of domestic feeling, and depth of gloomy sorrow. While many points of resemblance existed, there were some respects in which the Greeks were inferior,—in generosity, in cheerfulness, and, we may add, in the relative position of the female sex.

54. The review of the Heroic Age does not inspire us with a high idea of the happiness of individuals, or of families. The scenes of blood and rapine were so familiar, and the passions were so strongly excited and so little controlled, that we can scarcely contemplate their condition without a tinge of melancholy. With a feeling of weakness, and haunted by the fears of a superstition which was as enslaving as it was imaginative, they were rendered miserable by the want of those principles which control men's feelings, and of those religious hopes which are the only balm of grief, and the only support in death.—It is by making such comparisons, justly, fairly, and with the knowledge of the facts which traditions have preserved, that we are led to appreciate our own advantages—living in more peaceful times, under the shelter of better institutions, and, above all, enjoying the light and consolations of that religion which, in the early ages, had but faintly been revealed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DORIAN CONQUESTS.

Invasions by the descendants of Hercules—Revolutions in the different states—Monarchy and democracy—Colonies established in Ægina and Crete, by the Dorians.

55. It has been stated that, on the return of the Greeks from Troy, their country was in a state of great distraction. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, was forced to flee from the power of the usurper of his father's throne to Athens. After seven years of exile, he returned to Argos, killed

Ægisthus and his mother Clytemnestra, and recovered his inheritance and his kingdom, over which he reigned with great power and glory. The pressure of the Boeotians on the Thessalians caused a reaction, and the Boeotians were expelled. Some years after, a general revolution took place all over Greece. The descendants of Hercules settled in Doris. From thence, after some unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into Peloponnesus, driven by a pestilence, and encouraged by an oracle, they were conducted by Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, with Oxylus, an Æolian chief, across the gulf, and spread over nearly the whole peninsula, with the exception of Arcadia and Achaia. The entire population of the country was changed. The Dorians and Æolians were established in the peninsula. The old inhabitants were subdued, or driven away. One effect of this conquest was to abolish the ancient names, and to substitute for them the distinction of Dorians and Ionians. The Dorians retained their ancient dialect and manners in the country they had conquered. The Ionians remained in Attica, or spread, in colonies, along the western coast of Asia Minor, and in the islands of the Ægean sea. The Dorians in Peloponnesus had not only expelled the former inhabitants, but, with them, all traces of the civilisation which had been slowly growing up among them. On the death of Aristodemus, his followers, and the followers of the other chiefs, were involved in perpetual warfare respecting the bounds of their respective territories.

56. This revolution and these internal wars were followed by others of a different nature, in the constitution of each separate state. The limited monarchies were gradually undermined by the principles of democracy, and finally abolished. Independent commonwealths were founded in the cities of Crete. These were followed by Argos, Corinth, Pisa, and Elis, by Sparta, Arcadia, and, last of all, by Athens. However these separate commonwealths might vary, there are two facts which must have had great influence on them all. They were all confined within comparatively small territories: and, in all of them, menial work was done by slaves, most of whom were probably such of the original inhabitants as had not the spirit or the ability to flee from their conquerors.

57. The conquest which we describe in few words was the work of much time. The ancient legends have transmitted many examples of bold resistance, and of hard fighting. But on these our space does not permit us to dwell. It is also easy to understand that it was not suddenly, but by slow degrees, that the progress of democratic principles changed the form of government in all these states. Besides the Dorians, other tribes, forced by the stream of invasion from the north, were mingled with these new settlers. This seems the proper place to mention that, soon after the settlement of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus, they sent out colonies to the islands Ægina and Crete. This fact, in reference to Crete, it is important to remember, because of the close connexion of the institutions of Crete with others which we shall have occasion to describe, in the mother country, and, first of all, in Lacedæmonia.

CHAPTER V.

RISE OF SPARTA.

Helotes—Spartan ascendancy in Greece—Spartan monarchy—Lycurgus—Charilaus—Laws of Sparta—Institutions—Hostilities between the Spartans and Messenians—Battle of the Trencher—Aristomenes—Croesus—States included in the Spartan confederacy—Corinth—Sparta loses its importance—Becomes subject to the power of Rome.

58. It was after a hard struggle that the Dorian invaders of Peloponnesus obtained the mastery in Sparta. The resistance of the inhabitants of Helos, on the sea coast, was punished by the loss of personal liberty; and their name was long preserved in that of the Helotes, or Spartan slaves. Mingled with the Dorian conquerors were Cadmeans, driven by the Bœotian invaders from Thebes; and Minyans, descendants of the Argonauts. The ascendancy which Sparta acquired over the other Dorian states, and, eventually, over all Greece, began by subjecting to her sway the adjoining territory of Messenia; but it was secured, mainly, by those institutions by which she was distinguished. After the death of Aristodemus—one of the Heraclides that headed the invasion of the Dorians—the throne of Sparta was divided between his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, and the royal authority descended

in both these lines. Procles had a son, called Sous. Sous had a son, called Eurypon. Eurypon's son, Eanonomus, who was killed by a knife, in attempting to prevent a quarrel, left his kingdom to his own eldest son, Polydectus. Soon after his father's death, Polydectus died without an heir, leaving his brother, Lycurgus, heir-apparent to the throne. This dignity Lycurgus declined to assume, as soon as he was informed that his brother's widow was likely to become a mother. Plutarch says, that the queen secretly offered to secure the throne for Lycurgus, if he would allow her to share it with him; assuring him that no child of his brother's should stand in their way. Lycurgus feigned a participation in her wicked scheme. He placed persons that he could trust near the queen, to bring the child to him as soon as it was born. He was seated with the magistrates when the new-born prince was carried to him. He placed the infant on the royal seat, and proclaimed him, Charilaus—the people's joy—king of Sparta.

59. The disappointed queen and her family spread a report that Lycurgus had designs on the life of Charilaus. To avoid giving any colour to this report, Lycurgus resolved to retire from Sparta till Charilaus should have an heir to his throne. In his voluntary exile, he travelled through Crete, Egypt, and, it was said, as far as India. In his travels he studied the manners of the people, examined their institutions, and took counsel with their wise men. At Crete, he is reported to have made himself familiar with the laws of Minos, and to have derived much knowledge from Thales, a lyric poet of that island, famed for his political sagacity. In Asia Minor, we are told, he discovered the poems of Homer among the Æolian and Ionian colonists, whose forefathers were celebrated in those poems. From all his observations and studies he devised a plan for the government of Sparta. On his return to Greece, he repaired to the oracle at Delphi. There he offered the accustomed sacrifice. The Pythia addressed him—"Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man." He asked that he might enact good laws. The Pythia replied—"Apollo hears thy request: he promises that the constitution thou shalt establish will be the best in world."

60. The objects of Lycurgus were to remodel the government—to make a new distribution of property; and so to regulate manners as to secure a hardy race of men. To obtain these objects he gained, first of all, the sanction of superstition; for the Spartans believed that his laws were divine. He then gained the consent of his friends among the nobles. Having ordered thirty citizens of note to appear, armed, at break of day, in the place of public assembly, he opened his design.—It is not easy to gather from the conflicting testimonies of ancient times, and from the historical controversies of modern times, how far the statements of Plutarch can be relied on. It is plain that a great revolution took place at Sparta in the time of Lycurgus, and under his guidance; that the Spartan institutions revived some of the institutions of an earlier age; that some of them existed in other states of Greece; and that some were peculiar to Sparta. The political arrangements preserved the monarchy, established a senate, and secured the power of the citizens and the ascendancy of Sparta over all the cities and lands of the adjoining territory. The college of the Ephori, it is believed, was instituted in after times. The distribution of property was most likely a readjustment of the condition of affairs near to the time of the Dorian conquest.

61. The regulation of social manners was suited to the condition of a haughty minority, and produced a military camp in the midst of subdued and hostile parties; while the Helotes were kept in a state of hopeless slavery, and the serfs attached to the soil were exempted from many public services, and allowed to practise the arts of industry. Commerce with other states was discouraged; luxury was forbidden; and the whole of the Spartan citizens were trained in exercises that prepared them to go with calmness and courage to the battle-field. When a child was born, it became the property of the state. The weak or deformed were exposed to death in a hollow of Mount Taygetus. The strong and promising were subjected to rules while with their parents, and at seven years of age were trained to a long course of discipline, increasing, by degrees, in severity. Their fare was scanty, and of the coarsest kind; their clothing was light; their bed was of reeds gathered with their own hands; they were taught to bear strokes without impatience, and even to die under the lash without

a groan ; they were forced to forage in the neighbouring houses or fields, and to make them cautious as well as bold, they were punished ; if detected, for their want of success. They were sent out on secret expeditions, called *Cryptæ*, against the Helotes. One of these expeditions, of a most horrid nature, is described by Thucydides. When the Spartans dreaded an insurrection of the slaves, a public invitation was given to such of them as had served faithfully in war to come and claim their freedom. Two thousands of the claimants were approved of. They were crowned with chaplets, and, in their delight, went to the temples to thank the gods for their freedom. They were afterwards all *secretly* destroyed.

62. The hardy exercises of the young Spartans were relieved by martial songs and sacred hymns, accompanied by the lyre and the flute. They were accustomed to answer questions put to them at the public tables promptly, and in the fewest words. Plutarch has made a large collection of these "laconic sayings."—Some one advised Lycurgus to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon. "Go," said he, "and make a trial of it in your own family."—When it was asked whether they should inclose Sparta with walls, he replied, "That city is well fortified which has a wall of men instead of brick."—Charilaus, nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered, "To men of few words, few laws are sufficient."—The following are specimens of their repartees. A troublesome fellow repeatedly asked, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" "He that is least like you." Archidemedes being asked how many men there were in Sparta, replied, "Enough to keep bad men at a distance." A Spartan being asked to go and hear a person who imitated the nightingale perfectly, quickly answered, "I have heard the nightingale herself."

63. The examples of the elders imposed habits of modesty, obedience to authority, and reverence for rank and age. All the citizens dined at public tables, the head of each family contributing to the meals. Of learning, there was little or none. The treatment of women was regulated by the one great principle—of securing a hardy race of men : they were trained to the same exercises as the men, and to other habits repulsive to the better notions of our own times. In war the watchword was, "Victory, or death!"

A Spartan mother told her son to return *with* or *on* his shield: the coward was universally scorned, shut out from society, and insulted with impunity.

64. The Spartan institutions have been admired in all ages. They doubtless gained their end, in raising up an invincible community of warriors. But the hardness, ferocity, ignorance of letters, and contempt for peaceful arts, which distinguished the Spartans, is, after all, but a low condition of human nature. It could not be maintained without the most unjust and oppressive treatment of their slaves and serfs. It wanted the tenderness of domestic affections; it extinguished the sentiments of humanity; it repressed the genius and energy of individuals; it was artificial, fierce, terrible; and it was impossible that it could be permanent. The law against the use of any money but iron, made the Spartans the most avaricious of mankind.

65. The laws of Lycurgus professed to be oracles from Apollo at Delphi. They were not allowed to be written. They were established with much difficulty. When Lycurgus saw them rooted in the habits of the people, he assembled them all together, and told them that the greatest matter was yet behind. He then took an oath of the kings, senators, and citizens, to maintain the laws till he returned from consulting the oracle at Delphi. He departed. He offered the sacrifice, and enquired from the oracle, whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue, and to secure the happiness of Sparta. The oracle replied, that "the city which kept that constitution would be the most glorious in the world." He took down the response, and sent it to Sparta. He then put an end to his life by abstaining from food. Where he died is not known. Cirrha, Elis, and Delphi, claimed the honour of receiving his ashes. Plutarch relates, after Aristocrates, son of Hipparchus, that he died in Crete, and that, at his own request, his friends burned his body, and cast his ashes into the sea; that the return of his remains to Sparta might not be made an excuse for breaking the oath by which he had bound the people to maintain his laws. The Spartans built a temple to his memory; and they offered a yearly sacrifice to him—as to a god.

66. The Spartans had early wars with their neighbours of Arcadia; and then with the Argives. The followers of

Crespontes, in the Doric invasion, had obtained possession of Messenia, the territory adjoining Laconia. The Messenians enjoyed a richer country than the Spartans; and, though inferior to them in military discipline, they excelled them in the arts of peace, and in prosperity. Their countries were separated by Mount Taygetus. At a place called Linnœ, (or the Pools,) on the borders, was a temple of Diana, the joint property of the two nations. One of the Spartan kings, accompanied by a band of virgins, was slain in a dispute which arose at a festival held in this temple. There were two accounts of the story; and, each nation believing its own version, a hostile spirit arose between them. The enmity was kindled by the revenge of a Messenian, who engaged a Spartan to feed some of his cattle. The Spartan sold the Messenian's cattle and herdsmen, and pretended that they had been stolen by pirates. While he was telling the tale, one of the herdsmen came back and related the truth. The Spartan, thus detected, offered the Messenian the price of his cattle; and he requested him to send his son with him to receive the payment. The treacherous Spartan no sooner reached his own country, than he murdered the son of the man he had robbed. The father sought redress from Sparta; but without success. In his revenge, he waylaid the travellers on the border, and destroyed every Spartan that came within his power.

67. The Spartans now demanded from the Messenian government that the freebooter should be given up to them for punishment. One of the Messenian kings was willing, the other was unwilling, to give up the man. A fierce dispute arose, which ended in the death of Androcles, the king who favoured the Spartans, whose children fled to Sparta. The surviving king, Antiochus, offered to refer the dispute to some impartial judges. The Spartans refused. A few months only elapsed, when the Spartans entered Amphea, a Messenian town, situated on a hill, and well supplied with water, and slow the inhabitants in their beds. From this town they made incursions into all parts of Messenia, carrying away cattle, fruits, corn, and slaves. The Messenians, feeling themselves unfit to meet the Spartans, took shelter in their towns, and watched their opportunities of harassing and plundering the country of

their invaders. The war continued for several years without any decisive engagement;—but the Messenians were the sufferers. Wearied with their long sufferings, they enlarged and fortified the small town of Ithomé, on the cliff of the hill of that name, from which they could command the whole country. For six years, they maintained their post; while the Spartans either continued inactive, or were driven from the foot of the hill. At last, in the twentieth year of the war, the Messenians, reduced by famine to despair, sallied from their fortress; the higher ranks fled for refuge to Argos, Sicyon, and Arcadia, and the bulk of the people were scattered through Messenia. The Spartans destroyed Ithomé, took possession of the country, and made the inhabitants, generally, their slaves.

68. But a new generation of Messenians was cherishing the memory of their fathers—when Aristomenes, a prince of royal descent, encouraged the exiled and oppressed by promises of aid from foreign states. In the thirty-ninth year after the fall of Ithomé, he led his fellow-countrymen in a revolt against the Spartans. In the first battle, he took a Spartan shield. In the night he crossed the mountains, and fixed this shield on the temple of Minerva, at Sparta, with the inscription—“*Dedicated by Aristomenes, from the spoils of Sparta.*”

69. The Messenians were aided by the states of Argos and Arcadia, of Elis and Sicyon; the Spartans by the Corinthians, and by the citizens of Leprea, and their affairs were under the direction of Tyrtaeus, an Athenian poet. The Spartans were defeated in three battles on the plain of Stenyclara. The towns of Pharæ, Caryæ, and Egila were plundered by Aristomenes. After the attack on Egila, he approached a temple where some Spartan women were sacrificing to Ceres. On his approach, the women rushed on the assailants, threw them into confusion, wounded several, and seized Aristomenes, who was rescued from their hands by the priestess of the temple.

70. The war was ended by the Battle of the Trenches. The Spartans bribed the king of Arcadia to lead off his forces from the field. The Messenians, in their disappointment and rage, were subdued. Their principal men were killed in attempting to force a passage through the ranks of the enemy.—For eleven years, Aristomenes maintained

his independence, with the remains of his troops, and such of the inhabitants of the country as he could gather at Eira, in the mountains of the northern coast of Messenia. But, emboldened by success in his ravages through Laconia, he remained too long in the open country; he was captured by the Spartans, and, with fifty of his chosen companions, was brought in chains to Sparta, and thrown into a cavern, into which it was common to throw the greatest criminals. His companions were killed by the fall. But as the Spartans, who loved valour even in an enemy, allowed his request that he might be buried with his shield; the edge of the shield, striking against the sides of the cavern, broke his fall, and saved his life. Two days he lingered amid the stench of putrefying corpses, in expectation of a horrid death; on the morning of the third day, he perceived a fox devouring the mangled limbs of his companions. Seizing the animal by the tail, he was dragged to a chink in the rock, through which he effected his escape, and returned to Eira.

71. The final ruin of the Messenians was brought about by the treachery of a Spartan herdsman, who had robbed his master, and joined the Messenians. This man, being entertained by the wife of one of the Messenian guards, overheard the husband relating to his wife how he and other sentinels had left their post in a storm of rain—Aristomenes being prevented by a wound from going his nightly round. The herdsman immediately told what he had heard, in the hope of pardon from his master, who had the command of the Spartan force at Eira. Before the besieged Messenians could be alarmed by the barking of their dogs, the Spartans were in their fortress. For three days, Aristomenes urged his followers to a desperate fight, in the midst of a raging tempest. After struggling till their numbers were dreadfully reduced, they formed themselves into a hollow square, for the protection of their wives and children: they obtained a free passage through the Spartan ranks; and escaped into Arcadia. Some of the Messenians, living on the coast, took ship for Elen, and, under the guidance of Gorgus and Mantichus, sons of Aristomenes, joined some of their kinsmen—who had fled during the former war—at Messina, in Sicily. Others of the outcasts remained in Greece. Aristomenes retired to

Rhodes, where his memory was honoured as a hero, and his family were illustrious for many generations.—In another century-and-a-half we shall find the descendants of these fugitives recovering the land from which the Spartans drove their fathers.—The conquest of Messenia enabled Sparta to overcome the Tegeans, the most powerful of the Arcadian tribes, and to assert her military supremacy over the whole Peloponnesus, with the exception of the Achæans and the Argives.

72. When Croesus, king of Lydia, was directed by the Delphic oracle to make the most powerful of the Greeks his friends, he sent ambassadors with presents to Sparta, which entered into an alliance with him. Ambassadors came likewise from Ionia, and even from Scythia. The states composing the Peloponnesian confederacy, in which Sparta took the lead, were Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, Epidaurus, Arcadia, Phlius, Træzen, Hermione, Elis, with Pisa and Triphylia. Corinth was the state next in influence to Sparta.—The rising power of Athens, the Persian wars, the subsequent dissensions of Greece, and the changes introduced into the constitution, and into the foreign relations of Sparta, deprived her of her ascendancy, and she sunk at last, with the rest of Greece, under the power of Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS OF GREECE.

The Amphictyonic League—First Sacred War—Public festivals of Greece—Olympic Games—Athlete—Prizes—Amphictyonic triumph at Cræsa—Pythian Games—Local institutions—Government of Greece after the Dorian Conquest—Tyrannies—Their tendency—Democracy and Aristocracy—Reign of tyranny overthrown, B.C. 582, and succeeded by an oligarchy—Abolition of royalty in Sicyon—Poems of Homer—Megara—Government of the Boeotian states, principally aristocratical.

73. WHILE the Grecian states were independent of each other, they still formed one nation in language, in religion, and in common interests. Their territories naturally divided from each other by the outline of the country, and by their equality of power, kept them apart, and their

mutual jealousies often led to hostilities; but there were many causes of union—in a common ancestry, in the feelings of kindred, and in the necessity of mutual forbearance. Out of this natural alliance, added to religious considerations, arose the *Amphictyonic League*. This famous association appears to have been copied from similar associations of more ancient times. Its affairs were transacted by deputies sent from different states.

74. In spring they met at Delphi, and in winter at a temple of Ceres, at Anthela, within the defile of Thermopylæ. Its principal object was the guardianship of the Delphic oracle. Any insult offered to parties passing to or from the oracle, was punished with banishment or death. The first Sacred War, in which the town of Crissa was destroyed, after ten years' fighting, is the most celebrated example of its power. The oracle itself was not under the guidance of the league, but of the leading citizens of Delphi. The bribery by which favourable responses were obtained, contributed, together with the advancement of new opinions in philosophy, to the gradual weakening of its authority.

75. The public festivals of Greece were open to the whole Hellenic race. Of these, the most important were the Olympic Games, celebrated every fourth year, at Olympia, on the banks of the river Alpheus, in Elis.

76. The celebration lasted four days, and the period between one celebration and another was called an Olympiad. The festival was of unknown antiquity. But it was in the time of Lycurgus, apparently, and through Spartan influence, that the general concurrence of the Peloponnesians was secured; and in the course of time it extended to the whole Grecian people. At the time of the assembly, the territory of Elis was declared sacred: heralds proclaimed a sacred truce, putting a stop to all warfare, till the competitors could return home. Deputies from all parts of Greece, and from Grecian colonies in Asia, Africa, and Europe, assembled as spectators of the games, as to a religious solemnity, at which they regarded each other as the guests of Jupiter, the Olympian god.

77. The games consisted of foot races, horse races, chariot races, boxing, wrestling, leaping, throwing the spear, and the disc. Princes vied with princes in the contest;

but they were open to all Greeks legitimately born, and of unblemished character. The prize of the successful *athletes* was a garland of wild olive leaves ; but this was the symbol only of applause from so vast an assembly of spectators, and a pledge of honours, and sometimes more tangible advantages to the victor, in his own state. The greatest sculptors devoted their talents to the statues of the victors, which adorned the *allis*, or Olympian grounds ; and the greatest lyric poets consecrated their genius to the triumphant songs by which the success of the competitors was celebrated.

78. The triumph of the Amphietyonic Council at Crissa was celebrated by similar games in honour of Apollo, called the Pythian. Besides the athletic exercises, and the poetic contests of other games, the Pythian included competitors in music. The victors were rewarded with the spoils of Crissa. The other national games were celebrated at Nemea, in Argolis, and on the isthmus of Corinth. There were local institutions of the same kind in every part of Greece ; and the germs of them were in every city.

79. The advantages of the Olympic Games have been unduly estimated. With the exception of the temporary truce, they did nothing towards uniting the Greeks, or in softening the fierceness of their hostilities. They impressed the Greeks with a sense of their own superiority to other nations ; but their competitions only sharpened the mutual jealousy of rival cities. They were valuable, as affording opportunities for diffusing intelligence, enlarging men's ideas, exchanging the productions of industry, and exhibiting the talents which refined the arts. On the whole, we regard these periodical exhibitions as forming an essential part of the universal system of training the bodily powers of a nation of warriors, while they indirectly promoted the vigour of mind by which that nation was no less distinguished. The fact that woman was forbidden, on pain of death, to be present at Olympia, during the games, is the strongest comment on their true character, and on the taste of the people.

80. It has already appeared that the governments of ancient Greece were small monarchies, and that these were displaced by the Dorian conquests. By slow degrees, the

men most illustrious for birth, valour, or wealth, assumed the reins of government. When this government was abused, or felt to be oppressive, the power of the freemen trained to arms, in cities, arose to limit and control it; and the majority of the inhabitants, being slaves, were continually regarded with distrust, and sometimes with fear. The action of the people on the government was different in different times and places. Disputes arose between the nobles and the people, which ended sometimes in admitting certain of the people into higher rank, and sometimes in the elevation of a noble who had espoused the people's cause, to supreme power, with various titles. A variety of popular acts were used to secure such power. Throughout Greece, such governments, when established by force, were called Tyrannies,—a term describing, merely, the nature of the government, as distinguished from either an hereditary or an elective monarchy. The tendency of the tyrannies was towards selfishness and oppression; and the tyrant of one state was ready to help the tyrant of another in suppressing the liberties of the people.

81. The fall of the tyrants was greatly promoted by the growing power of Sparta. When the power which had been the inheritance of a class was thrown open to every free citizen, the government became a democracy. In Arcadia, the republics were aristocratical, the ruling power being in the hands of nobles. In Elis, the monarchical government was extinguished soon after the Dorian conquest. In Achaia, the government became democratical at a very early period. In Argos, the government by kings continued till the Persian wars; though the substantial power was in the hands of the Dorian free citizens. In Corinth, the government passed from kings to an oligarchy—or the government of a few nobles—which was overthrown by Cypselus, succeeded by his son Periander, who, for forty years, maintained that species of authority called by the Greeks a tyranny, which was overthrown B.C. 582, by the Spartans, and succeeded by an oligarchy, the exact nature of which does not appear. The abolition of royalty in Sicyon is not mentioned; but the ancient aristocracy was overthrown by Orthagoras, a man of low birth, who founded a tyranny which lasted for a hundred years, and was destroyed, probably by Sparta, about the same time with that of Corinth. The history of

Megara is not essentially different. The Bœotian states, of which Thebes was the most prominent, were aristocratical. The same may be said of Locris and of Eubœa. Thessaly continued to have a kingly government, long after the Dorian conquest; but there are many facts which show that this was little more than nominal, and that the government was carried on by a few wealthy nobles of ancient families.—The condition of the other states of Greece, at this period, is lost in obscurity. To Attica we must devote a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

RISE OF ATHENS.

Power of Athens shared by kings, nobles and citizens—Codrus—Archons, or rulers—Draco, the author of written laws, B.C. 624—Attempt of Cylon to establish a new conspiracy—Solon—Epimenides—Cratinus—Council of Four Hundred—Comparison of the administration of Solon and of Lycurgus—Travels of Solon—Rise of factions in Greece—Megacles—Pleistatus—Death of Solon—Pleistatus becomes master of Athens—Military discipline—Lyceum—Acts and character of Pleistatus—His death—Conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, during the festival of Panathenœa—Cleisthenes—Ostracism—Enmity between Sparta and Athens.

82. In early ages, Athens was the ruling city of Attica, under a line of kings, whose power was shared, partly by the nobles, and partly by an assembly of free citizens. Codrus, the last of the kings, had saved his country from the Dorian invasion, by the voluntary surrender of his life. After his death, the nobles abolished the title of king, and chose a chief magistrate under the title of Archon, or chief. At first, the choice was made, for life, in the royal family, but subsequently limited to ten years; and then it was thrown open to the whole body of the nobles, and its offices were divided among nine archons, the first in rank being entitled *the* archon,—the general guardian of the people's right of property. The second archon in rank, styled a king, presided over the ceremonies of religion. The third was the leader of the army in war. The remaining six were legislators, by whom justice was administered. The first author of written laws in Athens was Draco (B.C. 624),

whose name is always associated with the saying of Demades (a venal orator, opposed to Demosthenes,) that "*his laws were written, not in ink, but in blood.*"

83. The government excited a conspiracy, which, though it failed, had an influence on subsequent events so important that we must not pass it over. Cylon, a rich Athenian noble, son-in-law of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, aspired to be the founder of a similar government at Athens. Availing himself of the disaffection produced by the severities of Draco, he gained possession of the citadel. The archons waited till hunger should force him to surrender. Cylon and his brother escaped. Some of their companions died of hunger. The rest sought shelter in the temple of Athens. The archons offered to spare their lives if they surrendered; but they put them to death. This violation of the sanctity of temples awoke the superstitious dread of the Athenians, and they considered their city under a Divine curse, which could not be removed till the offence was expiated.

84. It was in this state of affairs that Solon was brought prominently forward. He was a native of Salamis, a descendant of Codrus. Early in life he engaged in mercantile adventures, and gathered much information by foreign travel. On his return to Athens, he found it in a state of anarchy, during which his native isle was wrested from Athens by the small state of Megara; and the Athenians were so abject, that they forbade any man, under pain of death, to propose that Salamis should be recovered. He wrote a poem, on the loss of Salamis. Rushing into the public market-place, he recited his poem, with the tones and gestures of a madman, to those who stood around. The people caught his spirit, and they resolved once more to try to regain Salamis. Led by Solon, who was aided by his young kinsman, Pisistratus, they went boldly to work, and the island was regained. Four years after, he acquired general reputation throughout Greece by his conduct in the Sacred War against Crissa. It was natural that one of his birth and fame should acquire confidence at Athens, where everything betokened the need and the approach of some great revolution. He prevailed on the party of Megacles, who were guilty of sacrilege, to submit their cause to a court—three hundred men of their

own body. They were condemned by this court. Their removal, however, was not sufficient to bring the violent factions of others to agreement.

85. Solon saw that there must be an entire change in the constitution of the state. Like Lycurgus, and other great legislators, he perceived that such a change could not be brought about without working on the religious superstitions of the Athenians. There lived at the time in Crete a mysterious man, named Epimenides, believed to have immediate communion with the gods, and power to avert their anger. This mysterious being was invited to Athens, to use his supernatural influence on its behalf. He came. For the purification of the city from the stain of sacrilege, he prescribed the sacrifice of a human being. A young man, Cratinus, offered himself. On the Areopagus, the Cretan prophet founded a temple to the Dread Powers. He placed some religious restraints of a minute nature on the habits of the people.—These services of Epimenides prepared the way for the changes Solon was contemplating among the Athenians, by soothing their irritation. The changes were designed to abolish the aristocracy, which had been so oppressive, without introducing a pure democracy. Some of his laws were provisional, abolishing the statutes of Draco, and providing relief for debtors. The fundamental laws of the constitution divided the people into four classes, of which the first three only were eligible to all the public offices, while all were entitled to choose the magistrates, to confirm the laws propounded by a council of four hundred, and to debate on all affairs referred to them by the council. The office of the archons was continued; but they could do nothing without the Council of Four Hundred. The strength of this constitution was intended to consist in the Areopagus. This body consisted of retired archons; and, before Solon's time, had been made entirely subservient to the purposes of the nobles. It continued to be the highest court of criminal justice. It had the charge of the morals of the whole people, and the power of altering or rejecting measures which the popular assemblies had approved.

86. In the constitution of Lycurgus, morals were made to serve the public polity; in that of Solon, the public polity was made subservient to morals. It was not without vio-

lent opposition from the factions, distinguished as the Men of the Plain, of the Coast, and of the Mountains, that Solon succeeded in establishing his constitution. He obtained permission to leave Athens for ten years, and travelled through Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Egypt. When he returned, he found the faction of the Plain headed by Lycurgus; the men of the Coast by Megacles, grandson of Megacles who had brought the curse on Athens by his sacrilege; and the Mountainfaction by his own kinsman, Pisistratus. Pisistratus had long meditated schemes for raising himself to supreme power in Athens; and Solon strove in vain to frustrate them, by inducing the other chiefs to unite against him. At length Pisistratus gained his object by a singular stratagem. He came into the place of public assembly in a chariot drawn by mules, covered with wounds, which he pretended had been inflicted by assassins. The indignant people, who looked on him as their friend, ordered a guard of fifty club-men to attend Pisistratus for his protection. Availing himself of this guard, he raised a large force, and seized the citadel. Megacles and his party left the city. Lycurgus and his party remained, submitted outwardly to the authority of Pisistratus, but watching their opportunity to destroy him. Solon appears to have submitted to the usurpation of his kinsman as a less evil than that of either of his rivals, and to have given him his advice when it might be useful to his country. But he devoted his leisure to study; and, according to the most accurate accounts, died in the year after the accession of Pisistratus.

87. The parties of Lycurgus and Megacles soon united, and drove the usurper from his seat. But they quarrelled for the prize; and Megacles gave his daughter in marriage to Pisistratus, and restored him. In a village of Attica, they found a woman of striking appearance, whom they dressed in armour, and placed in a chariot, and sent messengers to the city to proclaim that Athené, their goddess, was bringing back Pisistratus. The people, either credulous through superstition, or overborne by the power of the united parties, received the usurper. The followers of Megacles, however, took offence at Pisistratus' neglect of his young bride, and, once more, joined with the other faction to expel him. He

retired to Eretria, in the island of Eubœa. Twelve years after, he landed at Marathon, with a great force, which he had raised with the help of Thebes, and Argos, and Lydamis, in the isle of Naxos. He gained the victory over his enemies; and became, once more, master of Athens. He took into pay large bodies of foreign soldiers, and ruled with great severity. He built a temple to Apollo. He began the most splendid temple ever dedicated to Jupiter. He established the Lyceum in the neighbourhood of the city—a garden shaded with groves, and adorned with porticoes, where the youth were trained to manly exercises, and which became the favourite resort of the philosophers of later times. He gathered a large collection of books, which was opened to the public. He collected the poems of Homer, and made them known throughout the country. He is celebrated by Cicero as the first model of Grecian eloquence. The state of repose which Athens enjoyed under his sovereignty enabled her to acquire much of the power which she afterwards displayed.

88. Thirty-three years after his first usurpation, Pisistratus died, leaving the government to his three sons—Hippias, Hipparchus, and Thessalus. The lead in the government was taken by Hippias. Under their rule, the prosperity of Athens continued, with some slight improvement on their father's plans. An outrage offered by Hipparchus to Harmodius, a youth of Athens, followed up by an insult towards his sister, led to a conspiracy, by which the government was overturned. Harmodius had a friend, Aristogeiton, in concert with whom he collected a few companions, who resolved on the destruction of the tyrants. The festival of the Panathenææ, the only occasion on which the citizens appeared in arms during peace, was fixed for the attempt. The conspirators, armed with daggers concealed in boughs of myrtle, waited for Aristogeiton and Harmodius to stab Hippias: but one of their own number was seen speaking to Hippias; this circumstance alarmed the two friends, who, supposing they were betrayed, rushed towards the city and killed Hipparchus. The guards, coming up, slew Harmodius. Hippias, proceeding calmly to the armed procession, who were ignorant of the death of Harmodius, desired them to meet him, without their weapons, at a particular place. The arms were seized by

the guards ; and all who were suspected of favouring the conspiracy were arrested. Aristogeiton, who had escaped when Harmodius fell, was taken, and tortured. In his torture, he gave the names of the friends of Hippias, as his accomplices. A girl, who had been his companion, was likewise put to the torture, and she died without betraying any secrets. After this conspiracy Hippias became a cruel tyrant.—The old party of Amacles had acquired great influence at Delphi, and throughout Greece, by the magnificence with which they rebuilt the temple of Apollo. The oracle, under their guidance, directed the Spartans to restore the freedom of Athens. After several unsuccessful assaults, both by sea and by land, the Spartans gained possession of the children of Hippias, and he could redeem them at no price but by his departure from Attica in five days. Four years after the death of Hipparchus, Hippias sailed to Asia, and the family of Pisistratus were condemned to perpetual banishment. The names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton became, ever after, the themes of festive song, and the favourite allusion of Athenian eloquence.

89. The expulsion of the Pisistratidæ threw the power of the government into the hands of Cleisthenes, the head of the house of Megacles. Resolved on breaking the power of the aristocracy, he formed new divisions of the country and people, enfranchised aliens and slaves, altered the constitution of the senate, introduced ostracism, or secret voting, and made the people entirely independent of any influence (excepting that of wealth, or personal qualities) of the ancient nobles. Isagoras, the leader of the aristocratic party, sought the aid of Sparta. A herald was sent to Athens by Cleomenes, the Spartan king, demanding the expulsion of the accursed race, the family of which Cleisthenes was the head. Cleisthenes withdrew from Athens, and Cleomenes took possession of it on behalf of Isagoras. But they were both soon expelled by the people, and Cleisthenes returned in triumph. The enmity between Sparta and Athens, from this time forward, led to many alliances and many wars. At length, the Spartans, discovering that they had been deceived, through the craft of Cleisthenes, by the Delphic oracle, resolved to punish the Athenians by attempting to restore Hippias. With this view, they summoned a congress of deputies from their

allies in Peloponnesus, where they proposed that they should all unite in replacing Hippias on the throne. Socicles, the Corinthian deputy, boldly charged the Spartans with the inconsistency of establishing a tyranny in Athens, and induced the other deputies to join with him in rejecting the proposal. Hippias, thus disappointed, repaired to the Persian court.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRECIAN COLONIES.

Early migration—Cyrene—Establishment of several colonies—Lydian monarchy—Croesus—Cyrus attacks the Ionians—Succeeded by Narpagus—Conquest of Lesser Asia.

90. THE colonies of Greece were, those which began in the early migrations of Grecian tribes; those which were planted by particular individuals; and those which were sent out from one or other of the parent states. Of these, the principal settlements were six cities in the isle of Lesbos, near Tenedos, Larissa, and Cumæ. The early migrations are involved in the obscurity which clouds the legends preserved by the poets. The first historical migration is the *Æolic*; Achæans and Bœotians, driven from their home by the irruption of the *Æolians* and the *Dorians*, wandered to the isle of Lesbos, and to the north-western shore of Asia Minor.

91. The Ionian migration consisted of Ionians from the Corinthian gulf, and from Phocis, who settled in the group of *Ægean* islands, called the *Cyclades*, and the south-western coast of Asia. The Asiatic coast thus occupied received the name of *Ionian*. The distinct states were *Samos*, *Chios*, *Miletus*, *Myos*, *Priene*, *Ephesus*, *Colophon*, *Lebedos*, *Teos*, *Erythra*, *Clazomene*, and *Phocæa*. To these was added *Smyrna*. Some of the Dorian conquerors migrated to *Crete*, *Rhodes*, *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidus*, and *Cos*, which formed an association, after the withdrawal of *Halicarnassus*, named the *Dorian Pentapolis*. From *Rhodes* the

stream of colonization flowed to Lycia, to Pisidia, Selge, and Sagalassus. The settlements in Cyprus are generally referred to the same period. In the next age the Greeks formed settlements in Sicily, and in the south of Italy, called Great Greece, at Sybaris, Croton, Locri, Tarentum, Prestum, Palermo, Rhegium, Megara, Syracuse, and other cities. It seems to have been much later that the Greek colonists took possession of the broad and fertile land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Great Desert of Africa. The city of Cyrene became the parent of other cities in this favoured region.—On the shores of the Euxine Sea they planted Heraclea, Sinope, and Armesus.—Venturing beyond Sicily, they established themselves on the western side of Italy, at Naples, and at Massilia; and, led by piratical adventures to the south, they enjoyed lands and influence on the borders of the Nile.

92. While the Asiatic Greeks were flourishing, the Lydian monarchy arose at Sardis, situated on a hill between Mount Tmolus and the river Hermas, and on the right bank of Pactolus, overlooking the rich plain which terminates in the valley watered by the Hermas and the Cäyster. The powerful kings of this warlike and ingenious people, having conquered the barbarians from the north, were in the habit of making hostile incursions into the Grecian territories of Asia. Croesus achieved a series of victories which made him master of the western coast. His fame was so high in Greece, that, as we have seen, the Spartans formed an alliance with him, and the most eminent sages of Greece were among his friends. His yoke sat so lightly on the Ionians, that they refused to throw it off at the invitation of the Persian Cyrus. Cyrus, however, having conquered Croesus, reduced Miletus to tribute, and thus separated her from the other Grecian states. They sought aid from the Spartans, who sent envoys to the Persian conqueror, desiring him not to molest any Grecian city. Cyrus sent back word that he despised their threats. He sent his general, a Mede of the name of Mazæres, to punish the Ionians for their adherence to the Lydians. He took Prienê and Magnesia, but died while ravaging the vale of Meander. He was succeeded by another Mede, named Harpagus, before whom the Phocians retired to Corsica,

and the Teians to the Thracian coast; while the other Greek cities and islands submitted to the power of Persia. After some struggles of ineffectual valour, the whole of Lesser Asia was added to the dominions of Cyrus.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR WITH PERSIA.

Babylon conquered—Cambyzes—Darius—Ægina—Demaratus—Cleomenes—Miltiades—Battle of Marathon—Cynægirus—Death of Miltiades—Death of Darius—Succeeded by Xerxes—His invasion of Greece—Achaean League—Pass of Thermopylæ—Aristides—Themistocles—Leonidas, king of Sparta—Defeat of the Immortal Band—Panopeus—Xerxes on his throne—Defeat and retreat to Sardis—Sophocles—Victory of Salamis—Alexander of Macedon—Deputy to the Athenians—Determination to meet Mardonius—Advance towards Athens—Pausanias—Battle of the Plain of Megara—The freedom of Athens obtained—Manner of honouring the dead—Feast of liberty—Effects of the Persian invasion.

93. CYRUS, having conquered Babylon, was slain during an expedition east of the Caspian. His schemes against Egypt were carried out by his son Cambyzes. A revolution in the Persian government, after the death of Cambyzes, placed on the throne Darius, who organized an empire reaching from the Grecian Archipelago to the Indus, and from the deserts of Scythia to the Nile. The war of the Persians with the Greeks originated in the revolt of the Ionians, who set fire to Sardis with the aid of the Athenians, and at the instigation of Hippias, the expelled tyrant of Athens. Darius resolved to punish the Athenians for the help they gave to the Ionians in their revolt. He sent envoys to the Grecian cities on the continent and in the isles, demanding "earth and water"—the usual tokens of submission. Many of the continental cities, and all the insular cities, followed the example of Macedonia, and submitted. Ægina, the strongest of the island states—a barren rock, held by traders or pirates, facing Athens on the Saronic Gulf—was at the time in a state of hostility with Athens. Both the Spartans and the Athenians, instead of submitting to Persia, showed their defiance of Darius by putting his ambassadors to death. The Athenians looked on the submission of Ægina as the effect of malice against

themselves, and accused that state, at Sparta, of having betrayed the liberties of Greece to Persia. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, went to Ægina to punish them for their perfidy. But his colleague Demaratus privately encouraged the Æginetans, and Cleomenes returned to Sparta in disgrace. To avenge himself, he procured the deposition of Demaratus, by his influence with the Delphic oracle. Demaratus sought the friendship of Darius, who enriched him with lands and revenues. Cleomenes went again to Ægina, and gained possession of ten of their best citizens as hostages, whom he committed to the charge of the Athenians. After singular changes of fortune, Cleomenes died, in a state of frenzy, by his own hand. After his death, the Æginetans sent to Athens for the restoration of the hostages, which was refused. The Æginetans took revenge for this refusal, by seizing the sacred galley in which several of the leading Athenians were going to the festival of Apollo, at Delos.

94. The Persian fleet, guided by Hippas, the former tyrant of Athens, having taken Eretria, in Eubœa, an island which was separated by only a narrow strait from the mainland, Athens took the alarm, and sent to Sparta for help, which was delayed. Miltiades, an Athenian chief, expelled by the Persians from Chersonese, had found refuge in Athens. The Athenians, relying on his genius, and on his experience of the Persian mode of warfare, appointed him one of the ten commanders of their army. Miltiades persuaded his brother chiefs to engage the Persians at once. The Persians landed a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon, ten miles from Athens. The plain of Marathon, stretching for five miles along the shore, and turning inland a little more than two miles, was bounded by the slopes of Pentelicus and Parnes on the west, with a marsh at one extremity, and the bending of the hills toward the sea at the other. The Athenians, joined by the Plataeans, amounted to fifteen or sixteen thousand, and occupied the heights. Rushing down upon the plain, they were broken in their centre, by the veteran infantry of Persia, who pursued them up into the country; but, after severe fighting, the extremes of the Athenian wing put to flight the Persian wings, then, turning round, fell upon the Persian centre

coming back in the evening, and drove them to their ships. Seven of the ships were taken by the Greeks. Cynægirus, brother to Æschylus the tragic poet, held fast by one of these ships till his hand was chopped off.—The loss of the Athenians at Marathon was but slight. The dead were gathered beneath a tomb supported by ten pillars, on which their names were carved. It was the first occasion on which the Athenians learned their strength. They had conquered the masters of nearly all the world. While the dead were yet on the field, two thousand Spartans came, praised the Athenians, and returned.

95. The glory of Miltiades was short. Having persuaded the Athenians to give him the command of a fleet, by which he promised to enrich the state, he returned, with an injured limb, from an unsuccessful attack on Paros. His enemies accused him of having deceived the people. Brought on a couch into court, his brother pleaded his cause. He was condemned; but, for his services at Marathon, the capital punishment was changed into a fine of fifty talents. Unable to pay this sum, he was cast into prison, where he shortly after died.

96. Great was the wrath of Darius, when he heard that the despised Athenians had not only insulted his messengers, but repelled the armament which he had spent a year in preparing for the conquest of Greece. He stirred up all the nations of Asia to send their warriors and their stores. While busied in these vast preparations, he died, and left his throne and his projects to Xerxes his younger son, and, on his mother's side, the grandson of Cyrus.

97. Born to the inheritance of an almost universal empire, and nursed in the luxuries and flatteries of a Persian court, with little of his father's ambition or abilities, Xerxes was moved by the persuasions of his generals, of the Greeks, who now abounded in Persia, and of the family of the expelled tyrant from Athens, to prosecute the intentions of Darius against Greece. Four years more were spent in those prodigious undertakings that were to facilitate his approach to Greece, and to secure provisions for the innumerable hosts that were to accompany him. He joined the Asiatic to the European continent, by bridges across the Hellespont. A canal of a mile and a half was cut through the isthmus, to avoid the dangerous coast of Athos.

98. Having wintered in Sardis, he set out on his march. After the baggage, a crowd of many nations, speaking many languages, advanced, each with its peculiar armour, and led by Persian commanders. Then came a thousand chosen Persian horsemen, followed by a thousand spearmen, with down-turned lances tipped with gold. After them appeared the chariot of the Persian Jove, drawn by eight white steeds, preceded by ten Nisean horses richly caparisoned. Next came Xerxes in a royal car, drawn by Nisean horses, of a sacred breed, followed by the "immortal band" of ten thousand warriors, whose number was continually kept up, and by two bodies of horse and foot equal to those which went before. Ten thousand cavalry, followed by a vast host, composed the rear. Having adored the rising sun, and presented offerings to the Hellespont, and strewed the bridges with myrtles and incense for seven days and nights the living stream rolled along; and the king himself, the tallest and most majestic of them all, was the last that touched the shore of Europe. Then, the Assyrians with their brazen helmets, the Persians with their loose trousers, the Indians with their vests of cotton, the Nubian negroes with their painted bodies and their lion-skins, the Ethiopians with horses' manes flowing down their backs, the wild asses of India and the Arabian dromedaries, together with chariots from the heart of Africa, swelled the masses of the cavalry. Some of them were archers, with a spear and a short dagger, and without shields, excepting that the Persians carried a light buckler. The Nubians were distinguished by their knotty clubs, and the Ionians by a sort of battle-axe. The number of the host was one million seven hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horse.

99. The fleet contained twelve hundred and seven war-galleys, having on board, besides their crews, which amounted to more than two hundred and forty thousand, not less than thirty-six thousand fighting men. As they advanced, Thrace, Macedonia, and the islands, contributed, in addition, three hundred thousand infantry, and a hundred and twenty ships. At every city in his course, the great king was received with gorgeous banquets. His one daily meal cost as much as the allies of Athens spent upon their navy in a year.

100. To meet this splendid army of invasion, the Greeks, by their divisions, were ill prepared. Many of them had already submitted to Persia. Athens, however, was strong in the recollections of Marathon. Though the oracles at Delphi foreboded nothing to encourage, there were two expressions in the responses which the genius of Themistocles explained to mean, that the battle of Grecian freedom must be fought upon the sea. A league was formed at last, among several of the Grecian states. Achaia, Argos, Crete, and Syracuse, refused to join. The confederates met at Corinth. The Thessalians, abandoned by their allies, joined the Persians. The remaining states were thrown upon the resources of their country, and on their naval force. The passage into Greece from the north was blocked up by the mountain-ridge of Cæta, which stretched from sea to sea. Another ridge, rising in the isthmus of Corinth, and including the mountains of Pindus, Helicon, and Parnassus, extends through the heart of Greece. Thus Attica and Peloponnesus were defended on the west, first by Pindus, then by Cæta, and then by Parnassus. On the east, the only pass through the mountain-range of Cæta, was that of Thermopylæ, so close upon the sea that it offered a ready communication with a deep bay in which a fleet might ride securely. On this remarkable pass it was resolved that the whole force of Greece should be concentrated. The mutual jealousies of the states found excuses for slackness in their exertions. Only three hundred men came from Sparta, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, eighty men from Mycene. But a bold band of above two thousand mountaineers came from Arcadia. While Thebes sent only four hundred men, the small city of Thespiæ, in Bœotia, sent seven hundred. Leonidas, the brother of the deceased Cleomeus, was king of Sparta. Athens, following the advice of Themistocles, spent her whole strength in preparation for the sea.

101. Themistocles was the life of the Athenian councils. His sleepless nights had been spent in thinking of Miltiades. He was bent on making Athens great, and it was his ambition to be the greatest of the Athenians. His genius was equal to his ambition. He seized, with a glance of his mind, the nature and probable consequences of every event that arose, and was prompt in resources suited to the new circum-

stances and sudden changes that were coming on. Another man, named Aristides, was equally devoted to the good of Athens, but without the personal ambition of Themistocles. His singular integrity exposed him to the jealousy of the citizens for whom he lived, and he was sent into honourable banishment, by the ostracism, or secret vote, which gave every citizen the power of dealing as their caprice suggested with their public men. It is said of Aristides, that on the *shell* from which the ostracism took its title, he wrote his own name for a voter who was unable to write himself.

102. The banishment of Aristides had left the field open to Themistocles. He induced the Athenians to increase the number of their ships. He used his best exertions to bring the distracted states of Greece to concord. He persuaded the deputies of the confederacy to bind themselves by an oath, in the name of Greece, to devote to the temple of Delphi a tenth of the property of every Grecian state that willingly submitted to the Persians. As soon as it was known that Xerxes had reached Pieria, the Spartans, under Leonidas, their king, took up their station at Thermopylæ. The Athenian fleet was collected, not far off, at Artemisium, on the coast of Eubœa. From the north-western heights of Eubœa their spies could mark the motions of the enemy; but, alarmed by signal fires from the isle of Sciathos, the fleet retired to Chalcis, to guard the narrow defile of the Euripus. The Persian fleet was piloted through the channel of Sciathos, by Pammon, a traitorous Greek of Soyros, while the army advanced towards Thermopylæ. Herodotus, the Greek historian, estimates the mass of human beings thus rolling onwards upon Greece, at five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand and twenty men. The fleet of Persia rode at anchor near the shore at Casthanæ, exposed to the north and north-east winds, and offering a convenient roadstead for not more than the eighth part of their ships. They arrived on a calm evening in summer; but, in the morning, the wind was blowing strongly from the north-east: the storm lasted three days. Four hundred Persian galleys were sunk. The remains of the fleet escaped to the Pelasgian Gulf. Fifteen of the dispersed ships were taken by the Greeks, who had returned to Artemisium.

103. Xerxes had waited four days to the south of Thermo-

pylæ, expecting that the Greeks, alarmed at the approach of the largest army that had ever been known, would leave the pass. On the fifth day, he commanded the Medes and Cissians to bring Leonidas and the Greeks, alive, into his presence. These troops, failing in their enterprise, were followed by the "immortal band." For two days the Spartans resisted the attack. There was a secret path in the cleft, through which the Asopus worked its rocky channel, which Leonidas had commanded the Phocians to guard. Under the shelter of the oaks which covered the mountains, a strong body of Persians led by Espialtes, a Greek renegade, surprised the guards, and passed safely to the plain on the other side the mountain. The Greek forces retreated to their respective cities. Leonidas, with his Spartans and Thespians, obeyed the Spartan law, never to fly from an enemy: they calmly awaited the advance of the Persians. So great was the pressure of the invaders in that narrow pass, that numbers of them were forced into the sea, and many were trodden to death by their own men. Leonidas fell, fighting at the head of his followers, early in the day; and the rest continued fighting around his body, till every man was slain. "Thus," to use the simple language of the father of history, "fought the Greeks at Thermopylæ." A lion of stone was placed by the Amphictyons at Thermopylæ, in honour of Leonidas. A monument to the three hundred who fell with him, contained these words:—"Go, stranger, tell the Spartans, that we died, obeying the law."

104. While Leonidas and his little band "thus fought" at Thermopylæ, the Greeks at sea were resolved to obstruct the passage of the Persians through the strait that parted Eubœa from Bœotia. The fleet of the Greek confederates consisted of two hundred and fifty-one vessels; namely, forty triremes, or vessels with three tiers of rowers, from Corinth; twenty from Megara; eighteen from Ægina; twelve from Sicyon; ten from Sparta; eight from Epidaurus; seven from Eretria; five from Træzen; two from each of the isles of Styros and Ceos; with five boats, with single tiers of rowers, from the Opuntian Locrians; and two from the Ceians. The Athenians furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, and were rapidly building more. In the Athenian ships, the Platæans, who

had no ships, served as fighting men. The command of this armament was yielded, by the dignified forbearance of the Athenians to Eurybiades, a Spartan. The Eubœans, who belonged to the confederacy, alarmed at the intention of the Greek commanders to retreat to the interior seas of Greece, before the Persian armament at Artemisium, entreated Eurybiades to detain the fleet till they could remove their families. Eurybiades refused. They then applied to Themistocles, who engaged, for thirty talents (about six thousand pounds), to bribe the leaders to remain.

105. Next morning, the Persians sent two hundred of their vessels round the island, to the rear of the Grecian fleet. In the following night, a severe engagement left both the fleets in nearly the same positions. Next day, the Greeks, encouraged by the news that the detached squadron of the enemy was wrecked on the coast of Eubœa, cut off another squadron, and resumed their former station at Artemisium. On the third day, at noon, the Persians came down on the Greeks with all their remaining force; but the Greeks, after successfully resisting them, though with a frightful loss of their own ships, retired within their own seas—a movement which was hastened by tidings of the exposure of Leonidas, and the retreat of the land forces.

106. When Xerxes entered the pass, he asked whether he might expect many such obstacles in the conquest of Greece. The answer he received from Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king, who had attended him, was, "Eight thousand of my countrymen are ready to do what Leonidas has done; and, at the isthmus, you will meet with a more obstinate resistance than at Thermopylæ."

107. Xerxes, swayed by the Thessalians, and guided by them, ravaged the country of the Phocians, and destroyed, with fire and sword, the whole of the vale watered by the Cephissus, as far as the frontiers of Bœotia. At Panopeus he sent a small body to Delphi, to rifle the treasures of the temple. Some of the invaders were crushed to death, near the pronaos of the temple of Minerva, by the fall of overhanging crags, in a storm of thunder. A war-cry issued from within the temple. Struck with superstitious terror, the Persians turned their backs; and the Delphians, rushing violently upon them, saved their temple and their riches.

Turning aside from Parnassus, the victorious Persians passed through Boeotia, planting Macedonian garrisons in all their cities, excepting Thespie and Plataea, which they burned to the ground. The Athenians, deserted by their allies, and warned, as they believed, by sacred oracles and portents, adopted the suggestions of Themistocles; and, leaving their homes, their beautiful city, the temples of their worship, and the tombs of their fathers, they sent their wives and their children, the aged and the infirm, together with their slaves and their movable possessions, to Salamis, Aegina, and Troezen, and took ship for Salamis, where they were joined by the vessels of the other states. A feeble remnant of such as were too poor to hope, or too superstitious to despair, remained with the guardians of the temple, in the citadel of Athens.

108. The naval chiefs, considering Athens as already lost, were preparing to remove to the Isthmus, near the land forces of Peloponnesus, when Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, came to the ship of Themistocles, and induced him to use his influence with Eurybiades to detain them at Salamis. In a council, hastily assembled during the night, Themistocles urged his cause with much earnestness. Adeimantus, the Corinthian leader, who was equally anxious for the protection of the ships nearer to his own country, interrupted him, saying, "They who start before their time at the public games are scourged." "True," replied Themistocles, "but he who lags behind wears no crown." Then addressing Eurybiades as their commander, he said to him, "Fighting at the Isthmus will be with the disadvantage of an open sea: you will draw the whole war to the Peloponnesus. Fight here, and you have the advantage of a narrow sea; we save Salamis, the asylum of our families; we protect the Peloponnesus, as well as you could at the Isthmus; and, if we conquer, the barbarians will abandon both the Isthmus and Attica, and retreat from our coasts." The impatient Adeimantus again rudely interrupted him, saying, "You have no country to defend." "Wretch!" said Themistocles, "we have indeed left our walls—but our ships are our country." "Reject my entreaties, and we will take our families on board, and found a city on the Italian shores." Upon this they consented to remain at Salamis.

109. The Persian king, marching without resistance through Attica, found the Cecropian hill of Athens guarded by a wooden wall, from behind which a feeble garrison, cut off from all hope of relief, defended themselves by rolling heavy stones on their assailants. From the opposite height of Areopagus, the Persians set fire to their defences by arrows tipped with lighted tow. Finding them still obstinate, though nearly starved to death, some mountaineers climbed the northern rocks, gained the citadel, and threw open the gates. Some of the garrison leaped headlong from the precipice, and others took refuge in the sanctuary of Minerva. The Persians then put them all to the sword, rifled the temple, and set the citadel on fire.

110. Xerxes then ordered his ships to sail to Salamis, hoping that his own presence would ensure the victory. While the Peloponnesian commanders were meditating, after all, a retreat from Salamis, Themistocles sent one of his slaves, familiar with the Persian language, with such a message as induced the admiral of the Persian fleet to move silently from Phalerum, and occupy both the channels of approach to Salamis. From a stormy council of war, Themistocles was summoned by a stranger at the door. It was Aristides. He had made his passage in the dark, through the Persian fleet, from Ægina, the scene of his exile, to tell the Greeks that they were surrounded by the Persian fleet. At the morning dawn, Themistocles addressed the troops upon the strand of Salamis, and they embarked to maintain the independence of Greece.

111. On the mountain height of Ægaleon, on the eastern coast, fronting Salamis, Xerxes sat on a throne to survey the approaching fight. In the narrowest part of the straits, not more than a quarter of a mile across, the Greeks awaited the approach of the Persians. The large vessels of the Persians were tossed by the wind that, at a certain hour, was known by the Greeks to set up the channel; thus grappling with their broadsides the armed prows of the enemy, they were soon thrown into general confusion, from which they never recovered. At length, such of the fleet as escaped took refuge in Phalerum. Aristides, who watched their proceedings from the shore, sent off a body of heavy-armed Athenians, slingers, and archers, who cut off all the Persians left by Xerxes at Psyttaleia, an islet

between Cynosura and the coast of Attica. Discouraged and mortified by his failures, Xerxes left Mardonius, with three hundred thousand men, to finish the conquest of Greece, while he retreated, with the shattered fragment of his huge army, to Sardis.

112. The Grecian fleet, instead of pursuing the enemy, remained to punish the islanders of the Cyclades, who had helped the Persians in the war. They laid siege to Andros. "I bring with me," said Themistocles, "two powerful divinities—Persuasion and Force." "And we," replied the Andrians, "have two divinities of greater power—Poverty and Despair." The poverty and despair of the Andrians prevailed, and the siege was raised.

113. Returning to Salamis, the confederates divided the Persian spoils: the first fruits, dedicated to the gods, were sent to Delphi. They celebrated the victory with solemn festivals, in which Sophocles, then a youth of great beauty, who had distinguished himself in the battle, displayed his graceful skill "on the lyre and in the dance." In the temple of Neptune, on the Isthmus, the leaders divided the rewards of the brave. The second rank was awarded to Themistocles: the first was left undecided, for each leader had voted that honour to himself.—Themistocles repaired to Sparta. The Spartans shared the chief honour between the wisdom of Themistocles and the valour of their own Eurybiades, and crowned them both with olive. They gave Themistocles the stateliest of their chariots, and escorted him by a royal guard of three hundred "knights," as far as Tegea, on his road to Athens. On reaching Athens, he was reproached by Timodemus of Aphidna, a Belbinite by family, one of his enemies, with his visit to Sparta. "The honours you received were given, not from respect for you, but for Athens." "My friend," rejoined the hero, "had I been a Belbinite, I should not have received these honours from the Spartans; nor would you, even if you had been born an Athenian!"

114. The victory of SALAMIS relieved Attica from the presence of the enemy. The Athenians returned to repair their city, and to cultivate their lands. Both they and the other Greeks passed the winter in these peaceful occupations; but in the early spring their fleet assembled at Ægina, commanded by Leotychides, king of Sparta, and Xanthippus,

the Athenian. Some refugees from Ionia prevailed on them to advance eastward as far as Delos. Mardonius, the representative of Xerxes, apprehending that the subjugation of Greece would be a more difficult affair than he had led his master to believe, sent a messenger to consult the Grecian oracles. At the suggestion, the Greeks believed, of a Theban oracle, he sent Alexander, king of Macedon, to Athens, in the hope of detaching the Athenians from their allies. The Athenians sent for deputies from Sparta to be present at their meeting. "Men of Athens," said Alexander, "the king forgives whatever injuries you have done. He offers you the undisturbed enjoyment of your own land, and of any other you desire. He will restore your city, and rebuild your temples: only, as a free people, ally yourselves with him." In his own name Alexander, as the friend of the Athenians, assured them that he would not have been the bearer of such a message if he had not seen that resistance to Persia was hopeless; and he urged them to embrace the offer which was thus made to them above all the other Grecian states.

115. The Spartan deputies then addressing the Athenians said, "We conjure you, as the authors of the war, not now to abandon your natural allies, and leave Greece to be enslaved. We feel for your distress. While the war continues, we will support your families at our own charge." The hopes of the Macedonians and the fears of the Spartans were alike ended by the magnanimous reply of Aristides, in the name of the Athenians. Pointing to the sun, he said, "While that sun holds his course, we will come to no terms with Xerxes.—Relying on the gods, whose temples he has burned, and on the heroes, whose images he has destroyed, we defy him. For you, Spartans, our character might have raised us above your fears. You know our spirit. The earth contains not the gold, nor does the sun shine upon the land, that could move our purpose. Our blood, our religion, our injuries call us to revenge. Greece is our country, and never will Athens betray her. We thank you for your friendly offers. We will not burden you. We will bear our misfortunes as we can. Be it yours to send your forces against Mardonius. The barbarian will be down on Athens when he receives our defiance. Let us meet him in Reotia."

116. The Spartans returned home. Mardonius hastened, by rapid marches, towards Athens. A second time, within ten months, the city was deserted by her people, who had retired again to Salamis. From Athens, Mardonius sent to Salamis, repeating the offers which had been rejected. One man in the council urged compliance. He was instantly stoned to death by the people out of doors. The women rushed to his house, and destroyed his wife and children.—The Spartans, instead of sending forces against the invader, only increased their efforts in fortifying the Isthmus. The Athenians sent to remonstrate with them on their tardiness. For ten days the envoys were kept at Sparta, waiting for their answer. At length, wearied with delay, they told them that Athens would not be trifled with, and would throw herself into the arms of Persia. The *ephori* then informed them that their army was already on the march. It was only on the previous night that they had sent Pausanias, the regent during the infancy of the son of Leonidas, with five thousand Spartans and thirty-five thousand Helots. They sent with the envoys five thousand heavy-armed Laconians from the provinces.

117. Mardonius did not wait for Pausanias, but fell back upon Bœotia, leaving his traces in the havoc and plunder with which he devastated the Athenian territory. Scouring the Megarian plain, he heard that Pausanias was at the Isthmus; he bent his course in an easterly direction, and came down the lower banks of the Asopus, and halted for the night at Tagara. The next day he pitched his camp near the pool of Mount Cithæron, between the cities of Erythræ and Platæa. The Greeks of the Peloponnesus had joined the Spartans, and marched along the coast to Eleusis, where they were met by the Athenians under Aristides. As they proceeded across the foot of Cithæron down to Erythræ, they saw the Persians encamped on the other side of the river. Pausanias halted, and formed his line on the rugged sides of the mountain. Mardonius ordered Masistius to charge the Greeks with his cavalry. The Megarians, being sorely pressed by this onset, sent to Pausanias for relief. At a general call for succour in a post of danger, Olympiodorus, an Athenian, with five hundred men, and a body of archers, rushed on the Persians. Masistius, mounted on a richly-caparisoned and fiery Nisean steed, and glittering

from head to foot in golden armour, spurred on to meet this new enemy. His horse was wounded, and, in rearing, overthrew his rider. A Grecian javelin pierced his brain, through an opening in the visor. After a bloody battle for the body of their fallen general, the Persians were beaten back to their camp; while the Greeks, struck with the gigantic stature and noble figure of their prize, placed the body on a bier, and carried it in triumph through their lines. The Persian army honoured their lost chief by cutting the hair off* their heads, and the manes off their horses and their beasts of burden, and by a funeral wail, "which," says Herodotus, "resounded through all Bœotia."

118. Though the loss of the Greeks in this first encounter was serious, Pausanias was emboldened to advance further into the plain, chiefly for the sake of water. He pitched on the bank of one of the small streams from the side of Mount Cithæron, that fall into the Asopus, before it flows to the Eubœan channel through the plain of Platæa. The Spartans, who occupied the post of command, drew their water from a spring called Gargaphia. A dispute arose between the Tegeans and the Athenians for the second place of honour, or the left wing. The Tegeans urged their claim from ancient usage. The Athenians rested theirs mainly on the exploits of Marathon. "At the same time," said Aristides, "we will try to act with honour in any post which the Spartans may assign to us." The Spartans, as with the voice of one man, declared that the Athenians were the most worthy.

119. Mardonius opposed the Persians to the Spartans, and his Greek auxiliaries to the Athenians. The Spartans had adopted Tisamenus, the most famed of Greek soothsayers. In the camp of the Persians were also Grecian soothsayers. Tisamenus declared that the auguries favoured the Greeks, if they acted on the defensive. The Persians were forbidden, by similar divinations, to begin the attack. For eight days, the two armies remained inactive, the Persians losing heart, and seeing their supplies decrease, while the Greeks were furnished with provisions and fresh reinforcements from Peloponnesus. Timagenidas, a Theban, suggested that the Peloponnesian supplies might be intercepted. They surprised five hundred beasts of

* Herodotus vs, "shaving."

burden, on their way through a mountain defile to the Grecian camp.

120. "The watches of the night were set," says Herodotus, "and the army had sunk to rest, when, from the Persian camp, a man coming secretly to the Athenian outposts, asked for their leaders. 'I am come,' he said, 'to tell you a secret, which must be conveyed to Pausanias alone. Mardonius will attack you on the morrow. Be prepared. Should you succeed, you will make some effort for the independence of one who exposes himself to danger by giving you this warning. I am Alexander of Macedon.'

121. "The Athenians hastened to Pausanias, and told him what they had heard." Pausanias proposed that the Athenians, who had fought against the Persians, should take the right wing. The Athenian leaders at first resisted the proposal, but Aristides soothed them, by reminding them, that the post of command was offered to them; that their contest would be not with Greeks, but with the barbarians; and that they would be "fighting for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis." The plan, however, was frustrated; for Mardonius, being informed of the change, altered the disposition of his own forces; and, imagining that the plan arose from Spartan cowardice, offered to decide the contest by a battle between an equal number of Persians and Spartans. The Spartans made no reply to this challenge. Mardonius, ascribing their silence to fear, ordered the cavalry to advance. They drove the Greeks from their position, by stopping the Gargaphian spring. The Greeks retired towards Plataea. Mardonius crossed the river, and followed the Spartans. The Athenians were separated from them by the lower ridges of the mountain. The Persians had come within bow-shot, and, placing their light bucklers before them as a breast-work, harassed the Spartans with their arrows. The Spartans, in obedience to a soothsayer, were seated on the ground, behind their long shields, waiting for the signal for battle from the gods. The moment the signs were pronounced to be favourable, they sprang forward on the Persians, and a confused battle ensued, in which Mardonius, distinguished by his white charger and his dazzling armour, had his skull crushed by Acimnestus, a Spartan. His fall was the signal for a universal rout of the barbarians, who

fled to their fortified camp. The Spartans could not scale the rampart. The Athenians, now coming up, mounted the wall, and opened a breach for their allies, who rushed in and slaughtered nearly the whole multitude. The treasures in gold, silver, and armour, astonished the Greeks. A portion of these riches was devoted to the gods—a golden tripod to Apollo, at Delphi; a colossal image of Jupiter to the temple at Olympia, with the names of the confederate cities on its pedestal; and a similar image of Poseidon (or Neptune) to his temple on the Isthmus. Eighty talents were employed by the Platæans in building a temple to Athene. To Pausanias were awarded ten specimens of whatever was valuable. Alexander was rewarded by the freedom of Athens. Over their dead they raised three tumuli, or lofty mounds of earth—one for the officers, one for the rest of the Spartans, one for the Helots, and others for the slain of other cities. All the fires of the country were put out, and then lighted afresh from the sacred hearth at Delphi. It was decreed that every fifth year a Feast of Liberty should be celebrated at Platæa, on the anniversary of the battle. Before they finally left the scene of victory, they resolved to punish Thebes for aiding Persia in the attempt to enslave their country. After a siege of twenty days, the traitors were given up, and were carried away by Pausanias, and put to death at Corinth.

122. The day of the victory of Platæa witnessed another victory over the Persian forces in Ionia. The Grecian ships that pursued Xerxes in his flight from Salamis, were anchored at Delos, under Leotychides, the Spartan king, and Xanthippus, the Athenian. There they received the Samians into the Grecian confederacy, on the assurance that the Ionians were ready for revolt from Persia. At Mycale, a promontory of Ionia, opposite to Samos, on the south, they found the ships of the enemy drawn up near the foot of the mountain, inclosed with a wall, and defended by long files of infantry along the beach, under the command of the Persian, Tigranes. The Spartan king sent the watchword, "Hebe," to the Ionians, and exhorted them to remember the common liberty of Greece. The Athenians, who were the first that reached the Persian entrenchments, rushed fiercely on, and, after an obstinate contest, carried the barricade, and put the promiscuous multitude to flight.

The troops of Persia stood their ground: Tigranes, however, was slain. Then the Spartans, whose march had been retarded by the difficult nature of the ground they had to pass, came up and slew all that escaped the sword of the Athenians. The Persian ships were set on fire. The Ionians were left to make their own terms with Persia; but the isles were taken into the Greek confederacy. Sailing to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge, which they found already demolished, the Spartans and other Peloponnesians returned to Greece, leaving the Athenians to recover, from the Persians, the colony of Miltiades in Chersonese. The Athenians, having accomplished this object, came home laden with spoils, among which were the fragments and cables of the famous bridge across the Hellespont.—In this manner, an end was brought to the Persian invasion of Greece. By the efforts it called forth, rallying the forces of the divided states, and centring them on one great object, it laid the foundations of the splendid power to which Greece was raised.

CHAPTER X.

MARITIME ASCENDENCY OF ATHENS.

Rebuilding of Athens—Improvements by Themistocles in the Piræus—Successes of the Spartans under Pausanias—Cimon—Banishment and death of Themistocles—Character and proceedings of Cimon—Earthquake at Sparta—War with Messenia—Banishment of Cimon.

123. WHILE the united Greeks were engaged in paralysing the power of Persia, and driving her from the shores of Greece, Themistocles remained in charge of Attica. Athens had been almost entirely destroyed by the barbarian. After his expulsion and defeat, the Athenians set about the restoration of their walls, and the rebuilding of their city. Having twice left their homes to preserve their freedom, they now resolved to show "what liberty could make of it." The private buildings, being left to their owners, exhibited, in their meanness, the poverty of the people. The temples were left for more prosperous times. The first care of the state was the rebuilding of their walls, and

the increase of their naval strength. The other states of Greece viewed these works with jealousy, especially the Spartans, who had hitherto taken the lead, and who could not fail to be alarmed at the prospect which threatened them with a mighty rival. They sent to the Athenians, begging them to desist from the erection of their fortifications. They urged that fortified cities would only tempt the barbarian, and become his strongholds. They offered to join with the Athenians in destroying all the fortifications of the Peloponnesus. Themistocles, seeing through the motives of the Spartans, induced the Athenians to reply, that "they would send ambassadors to Sparta, to discuss the best methods of securing the common welfare of the confederate states of Greece." He then requested that he might himself be appointed one of the ambassadors, and that his associates in the embassy might be detained at Athens till the walls were high enough for the defence of the city. A stop was immediately put to all other works. The materials of houses, temples, and monuments were seized, and old men and youth, women, children, and slaves, laboured together on the walls.

124. Leaving his colleagues, Aristides and Abronychus, behind him, while this work was vigorously carried on, Themistocles repaired to Sparta. It seems not unlikely that he bribed the leading men of Sparta. Having delayed for a long time to enter on the business of his mission, the Spartan *ephori* inquired the reason. He replied, that he was waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained at Athens by some urgent affairs. But, as tidings came to Sparta of the works being so eagerly carried on at Athens, the Spartans began to remonstrate with Themistocles. "Why," said he, "give heed to rumours? Send thither some trusty messengers, and wait for their report." The messengers were sent. Either secret intelligence from Themistocles, or the threatening language of the Spartan messengers, when they saw the progress of the wall, or most likely both, induced the Athenians to detain them till the return of their own ambassadors.

125. When Themistocles knew that the walls were strong enough to defend the city, he told the Spartans that the walls were too far advanced to be abandoned. He then said to them, "When you send ambassadors to Athens,

deal with us as with men who know their own interests, and the common interests of Greece. We needed not your counsels when we left our ships—and to whom have we been inferior, either in the field, or in the council? We now think it for our own safety, and for the safety of all Greece, that we should be equal to our allies. For these reasons we believe that we are acting wisely in rebuilding our walls." The Spartans, adepts in the suppression of their feelings, courteously replied to Themistocles, that "they had offered only the suggestions of friendship for the general good, and they regretted that the Athenians should suppose them inclined to interfere with their right to do as they deemed best in their own city."

126. Having rapidly completed their fortifications, the capacious mind of Themistocles resolved to complete, on a large scale, the plan which he had formed before the Persian war, for the convenience of their increasing fleet, and securing to Athens the sovereignty of the sea. In the vicinity of Athens, the harbours of Phalerum and Munychia were inconvenient for these purposes; but Piræus offered facilities for the construction of the largest and best port in Greece. To accomplish this project, it was necessary for Themistocles to allay the opposition of the Mountain party in Attica, and the general agricultural party in the democracy of Athens. Having gained the co-operation of Aristides and Xanthippus, he obtained the consent of the people to submit his scheme to the Council of Five Hundred. The senate having approved, the people ratified the approbation. The walls of Piræus were thick enough to admit two wagons abreast, and composed of solid masonry. The new town rose rapidly; provided with market-places, and adorned with temples and a theatre. It soon became the resort of merchants, foreign travellers, and artisans, ship-masters, pilots, and all whose occupations were connected with the sea—a bold, energetic, and tumultuous population.—Plutarch relates a striking anecdote, which illustrates at once the daring schemes of Themistocles, the integrity of Aristides, and the honour of the Athenians. Having told the Athenians that he had a secret which he could not impart to the whole body, the Athenians desired Themistocles to submit it to Aristides, and they would act by his decision. Themistocles told Aristides that he had

thoughts of burning the confederate fleet of Greece. Aristides informed the people that the enterprise of Themistocles would be greatly for their advantage, but most unjust. The Athenians, therefore, rejected it.

127. The Spartans were occupied with the affairs of Pausanias. A Grecian fleet had been fitted out to wrest all the Grecian towns from Persia. To this fleet the Peloponnesus contributed twenty vessels, and Athens thirty, *under the charge of Aristides, and Cimon, son of Miltiades.* Pausanias commanded. They reduced the principal towns of Cyprus. They proceeded thence to Byzantium, which was the strength of Persia, and joined Europe to Asia. Here, also, they were victorious. Flushed with these successes, Pausanias gave signs of a great change. He assumed the garb and manners of the Persians. He carried himself haughtily towards his allies. He had frequent intercourse with noble Persians, who were among the captives taken in the war. He repulsed Aristides from his presence. He was accused of offering to give up Sparta and Greece, in exchange for the hand of the daughter of Xerxes, and a portion of delegated power. The Spartans recalled Pausanias, leaving the ascendancy in the east to the Athenians. The Ionian league superseded the Isthmian. Aristides, returning to Athens, supported the rising power of Cimon, in opposition to that of Themistocles. Nursed in war, and richly endowed with the qualities of mind and body, which were most fondly admired by the Athenians, Cimon was welcomed alike by the nobles and by the people of Athens. The Spartans, too, were well affected to him as a young man of noble birth, and as the rival of Themistocles, whom they both feared and hated. The power of Themistocles was on the wane. Avaricious, ostentatious, and full of intrigues, he had disgusted the nobles, and forfeited the favour of the Athenian people.

128. The changes introduced by Aristides after the battle of Platæa had brought the nobles and the people into close union, and the democracy were prepared to accept for their leader the wealthy and victorious son of the hero of Marathon; and consequently, by a majority of popular votes, Themistocles was condemned to banishment, as a man dangerous to the state. He retired, first, to Argos; but, having occasion to flee from Spartan and Athenian

commissioners, as suspected of sharing the perfidy of Pausanias, he found an asylum at the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians, in Epirus, on the north-west side of Greece. He ended his days amid inglorious luxury at Magnesia, under the shadow of the throne of Persia. How and where he died is a matter of uncertainty. After his death, the Athenians forgave his crimes, received his ashes, and honoured his memory with a tomb in the Piræus.

129. Though the birth and the inclinations of Cimon attached him to the aristocratical party in Athens, he used every art to ingratiate himself with the people. He scattered his wealth with a liberal hand. He followed Aristides in his high integrity and honour; so that his history is bound up with the maintenance of the high station to which Athens had now risen as the mistress of the sea, and the head of the Ionian League. His earliest expedition was against Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, in Thrace, which was garrisoned by the Persians. The Athenians carried on the siege till the commander destroyed himself, his family, and his treasures, in one blazing pile. The place was taken, and the captives were sold for slaves. They then expelled a band of pirates from Scyros, a small island in the Ægean sea, and settled in it a colony of their own countrymen. The Carystians, in Eubœa, were chastised probably for destroying part of the Athenian fleet; while Naxos, one of the most powerful of the confederate states, having refused the stated subsidies for the general objects of the Ionian League, was forced to submit to the yoke of Athens.

130. The conquering fleet of Cimon, sweeping along the coast of Asia Minor, terrified the cities of Caria and Lycia into revolt from Persia. He destroyed the Persian fleet, and, the same day, routed their land forces in Pamphylia. From the isles skirting the Pamphylian and Ionian coasts, to the entrance of the Euxine, not a Persian galley, nor a Persian standard, could be seen. In another expedition, Cimon wrested from the Persians the Thracian Chersonese, from which his father had been driven. He became the richest man in Athens. The roughness of his early habits was exchanged for eastern magnificence. He encouraged philosophy and poetry, spectacles and public shows. He laid out the barren grounds of the Academy, two miles from

the city, in open spaces for the exercises of the Athenian youth, with shady walks and fountains. He erected the first of those porticoes, or pillared avenues, in which the citizens were wont to meet; and planted the beautiful plane-trees of the east in the place of public business. He completed the unfinished citadel; and, at his own charge, laid along the marshy ground the expensive foundations of the walls which connected Athens with Phalerum and with Piræus.

131. While thus strengthening and embellishing the city, he indirectly weakened other states, by accepting money from them, instead of the soldiers or ships they were bound to furnish for the common service—thus indulging their preference for the arts, and the indolence of peace, while he enriched the treasury, and kept up the discipline of the Athenians. Having conquered Eion in Thrace, the Athenians laid claim to certain trading places, and some rich mines in that country. The Thasians, who had formerly possessed some of these mines, renounced the confederacy, because the Athenians would not give them up. Cimon landed his forces in the isle of Thasos, and besieged the city. The Thasians sent for help to the Spartans, who secretly promised to distract the Athenian forces by invading Attica; but they were compelled by their own calamities to give up the scheme. Their city was destroyed by an earthquake, in which twenty thousand perished. The slaves revolted in the midst of the confusion, but were dispersed by the wisdom and energy of king Archidamus. Many of them joined the Messenians, who fortified Ithome, and declared open war against the Spartans.

132. Cimon left the conquest of Thasos to be achieved by others, and returned to Athens, when he was charged by the party opposed to him with neglect in not adding Macedon to the dominion of Athens, and even with taking bribes from Alexander. But when brought to trial, he said to the people, "You mistake me; and you do not understand the country which you desired me to conquer. Other commanders have cultivated an interest among the Ionians and the Thessalians, whose riches were tempting. For me, I have never sought such connexions. The Macedonians,

who, though not rich, are virtuous and brave, I hold in high esteem. Never will I prefer riches to virtue. I have enriched my country with the spoils, not of friends, but of enemies."—Notwithstanding the power of the faction opposed to him, his popularity was still so great, that their opposition to him could not be pushed to extremity; and he was honourably acquitted of the charge on which he was tried.

133. In the distress that had come on the Spartans by the ruin of their city, and the revolt of their slaves, they applied for help to the neighbouring states. By the aid of the Æginetans and the Platæans, they shut up the Messenian insurgents in the strong hold of Ithome. To reduce this fortress they sought the aid of the Athenians. The party opposed to Cimon, of which Ephialtes was the leader, were inclined to refuse help to Sparta. "Let her pride be humbled," said Ephialtes, "and her power to do mischief weakened." Cimon, still supported by a powerful party friendly to Sparta, appealed to more generous sentiments. "Let us not suffer Greece to be lamed, and Athens deprived of her yoke-fellow." This appeal was successful. Cimon was immediately sent forth with a large Athenian force, to assist the Spartans at the siege of Ithomé. This siege was long and tedious. The Spartans, jealous of the rising power of Athens, and suspecting that the help, which was opposed by a large party in that city, was not heartily afforded, dismissed the Athenian troops, while they detained those of the other allies. On this, the Athenians broke their alliance with the Spartans, and formed a close connexion with Argos, now at war with Sparta.

134. The democratical party at Athens was now rapidly gaining power under the guidance of Ephialtes. They had made deep inroads on the power of the Areopagus. Cimon became unpopular as the friend of Sparta, as the leader of the expedition in which that state had insulted Athens, and as the defender of the Areopagus; and he was banished from Athens for ten years.

CHAPTER XI.

PERICLES.

His history—Revolt in Egypt—War—Defeat of Athenians—Siege of Ægina—Perseverance of Athens for superiority at sea—Calamity in Egypt—Revolt of Bubos—Revolution of Megara—Truce of thirty years between Athens and Sparta—Thucydides—Banishment of Thucydides—War between Milesians and Samians—Victory by Pericles—Means of increasing the revenues of Athens—Phidias and his works—Difficulties of Pericles—Pericles and Aspasia.

135. The popular leader of the Athenians was Pericles. This great statesman was son of Xanthippus, who had accused Miltiades, the father of Cimon, and who had been associated with Aristides in the command of the Athenian fleet, in the victory of Mycale. The personal appearance of Pericles, and his winning address, were aided by the advantages of a highly cultivated mind, and by a polished and majestic eloquence hitherto unknown. He studied philosophy with Anaxagoras, and music and politics, with Damon. Slowly feeling his way to power, he gradually undermined the influence of the nobles, and the popularity of Cimon, and succeeded, as we have seen, in procuring the expulsion of his rival, by the votes of the people. At this time the Megarians and the Corinthians were at war. The Megarians joined the Athenian confederacy, and the Athenians made themselves masters of their territory. All things, both at home and abroad, required that the navy of Athens should be vigorously employed, as the only means by which her power at sea could be maintained.

136. She was brought once more into contest with Persia. Inarus, king of some Lybian tribes in the west of Egypt, had excited a revolt in Egypt against the Persians. Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, sent his brother Achæmenes at the head of a large army to subdue the Egyptians. Inarus applied for help to the Athenian commanders of a fleet then engaged in the reduction of Cyprus. The Athenians, with their confederates, ascended the Nile to Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, and took possession of two divisions of the city, while the third remained in the hands of the Persians. These operations were going on in Egypt, when the

Corinthians, assisted by the Epidaurians, defeated the Athenians at Italica, on the Argolic coast. Their next engagements were at sea, in which the Athenians had the advantage. They repulsed the Peloponnesian fleet, near the island of Cecryphalea, in the Saronic gulf. They besieged Ægina, and drove back the Corinthians from the passes of Geranea, in Megara. In this state of things in Greece, the Persians hoped to draw the Athenians from Egypt, by bribing Sparta to invade Attica. Though the continuance of the Messenian war prevented the Spartans from gratifying, at this time, their own vengeance in Attica by the invasion, there were many causes at work to increase the hostility between these two leading states of Greece. The Phocians, having captured one of the towns of Doris, the Spartans compelled them to restore it, and, on their return home, encamped at Tanagra, on the frontier of Attica, encouraged by the hope that the faction which favoured them in Athens, would enable them to strike a decisive blow against the popular Athenian government.

137. The Athenian forces, including large bodies of allied troops, together with some Thessalian cavalry, marched out to Tanagra, to give the Spartans battle. While both sides were waiting in expectation of an engagement, Cimon, whose place of banishment was near, offered to join his own tribe in the service of his own country. His offer was refused. He left his armour with his friends, who fought around it till they were all cut off. In the midst of the battle, where Pericles performed extraordinary feats of valour, the Thessalians abandoned the Athenians and joined the Spartans. The Spartans triumphed, and returned to their homes. Three months later, Myronides, the Athenian general, who had driven the Corinthians from Geranea, gained the victory of Ænophyta, making himself master of all the smaller cities of Boeotia, and secured the ascendancy of a party favourable to Athens in Thebes. He destroyed the wall of Tanagra, and took hostages from the Opuntian Locrians. In the same year, Ægina was subdued by the Athenians; the long walls of Athens begun by Cimon, were completed; and the Athenians devoted themselves with increased energy to the maintenance of their superiority at sea. They sent, next year, a fleet round the Peloponnesus; burned the arsenal of the

Spartans at Gythium; took Chalus from the Corinthians; defeated the Sicyonians; subdued the cities of Cephallenia; and gained possession of Naupactus, which they wrested from the Ozolian Locrians. In this latter place they settled, at the close of the war, the exiles from Messenia, which restored the dominion of the Spartans in their country.—These successes in Greece were darkened by calamities in Egypt. The Persians, by forcing the Athenians from Memphis and from Byblus, and extinguishing the revolt of Inarus, entirely destroyed their power in that quarter.—Cimon was recalled from banishment by the prudence or the necessities of Pericles; but he died in an unsuccessful expedition to Africa. His remains were conveyed to Athens, where his name was honoured with a noble monument.

138. The Athenians divided with the Spartans the honour of presidency at Delphi. They met with reverses in Boeotia; and, at the same time, Eubœa revolted. There was also a revolution against them in Megara. A Peloponnesian army was marching against Attica; but Pericles induced them to return, by bribing the counsellor of the Spartans; and, having succeeded in saving his country from invasion, quelled the revolt of Eubœa. As both the Athenians and the Spartans were much exhausted by these wars, the two states, together with the confederates on both sides, entered into a truce for thirty years.—When this truce was made, the party, of which Cimon had been the head, looked for a leader distinguished less for military than for civil talents. Their choice fell on Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon. He gathered the nobles around him as a compact body. The effect of this on Pericles was to excite his most strenuous efforts to refine the character, and to gratify the tastes, of the people. He devoted large portions of the public treasure to the encouragement of art, the embellishment of the city, and a profusion of brilliant festivals and magnificent processions. The partisans of Thucydides brought against Pericles a charge of prodigality in wasting the funds of the state. Pericles defended himself by saying: "If you think I have spent too much on these objects, charge them to my account; but let *my* name, not that of the Athenian people, be inscribed upon them." On such a people, whose genius

Pericles had deeply studied, the effect was precisely what he desired—they dismissed the charge. Thucydides was banished. Pericles stood, without a rival, as the leader and the organ of the Athenian democracy.

139. It seems to have been but a few years after the banishment of Thucydides, that the Milesians applied to Athens for help in the war which they were carrying on with the Samians—an application which was supported by even some of the Samians, who were dissatisfied with their own government. The Samians, members of the Ionian confederacy, refused to submit their dispute with the Milesians to the decision of Athens. Pericles repaired to their island, put down the government, and followed up this expedition by a second and a third, which ended in complete victory on behalf of Athens.

140. One great use which Pericles made of this power was to make Athens the centre of law and justice to her allies. The treasure of the confederacy had been transferred from Delos to Athens long before. From the augmented tributes of the Attic states, as well as from the rents of the Laurian silver mines, from imposts, tithes, taxes on strangers and on slaves, fees and fines connected with the administration of justice, and *liturgie*, or contributions from individuals for particular services, over which the government presided—all the fruits of peace, Pericles raised the revenues of Athens to an extraordinary height. For this reason he was opposed to all schemes of foreign conquest; as, by increasing the dignity of Athens, he thought to make her formidable to her enemies, and dear to her people. The summit of the Acropolis was crowned with monuments and temples. The marbles of Pentelicus and Paros were wrought by the genius of Phidias, Callicrates, and Mnesicles, into those wondrous columns, arches, and statues, which, even in ruins, are considered the models of statuary and architecture. The Odeum, the Propylæa, the Parthenon, rose in their clear sky, attracting the admiration of the world, attesting the wealth and refinement of the Mistress of the Sea, and filling the humblest citizen with the remembrance of former days of glory, and a sense of the grandeur of the state, of which he proudly felt himself to be a part.

141. To preserve some consistency, between the public and the private condition of the Athenians, Pericles encouraged and promoted a new kind of colonies, by which citizens obtained grants of land in distant countries, in which they might reside, without losing the freedom of Athens. One of these colonies was planted in the north of Eubœa; others were in Naxos, Andros, and in the Thracian Chersonesus; at Sinope, on the Euxine; at Amisus, Sybaris, Cumæ; and there were those in Athens whose imagined colonies were to have included Sicily, Etruria, and Carthage. All who could not prove that both their parents were Athenians, were rigidly excluded from the class of citizens. The poor were employed in the public works, and in war galleys regularly kept at sea.

142. The enemies of Pericles were ever on the watch. They attacked him through Phidias, the sculptor, who was closely connected with Pericles in his adornment of the city. A man named Meno, who had been employed by Phidias in some work connected with the statue of Minerva, in the Parthenon, which was enriched with golden ornaments, sat in the Public Place, as a suppliant, imploring the forgiveness of the people, for an offence in which he had been the accomplice of Phidias,—embezzling some of the gold designed for the statue. Phidias was saved by the ingenuity of Pericles, who proposed that the gold should be removed from the statue, and weighed. The accusers shrank from the challenge. But, having detected on the shield of Minerva the portraits of Pericles and Phidias, the arrogance and impiety shocked the feelings of the Athenians, and Phidias was cast into prison, where he died. So far encouraged by their success, the enemies of Pericles hoped to humble him by attacking the celebrated Aspasia. This lady had come from Miletus to Athens, and had won the affections of Pericles by her extraordinary accomplishments. Her house was the resort of the most eminent men, who brought their wives with them, to enjoy the charms of her conversation. She was charged with corrupting the matrons and the religion of Athens. But Pericles saved her by his influence and his eloquence. At the same time, Anaxagoras, the philosopher, was publicly

tried for teaching doctrines contrary to religion, and banished from Athens. Pericles himself was called to give an account of his administration. He rose above all opposition, and maintained his standing.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Violation of the treaty—War between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans—Pallene—War between Corinth and Athens—Archidamus—Pericles' funeral address—Renewal of the war—Pestilence—Proposal of peace by Athenians—Refusal—Attack on Platana—Siege of Piræus—Defeat of Spartans in Acarnania—Athenian alliance with Sicily—Phormio—His invasion of Macedonia—Death of Pericles—Peloponnesians invade Attica—Result of siege of Platana—Colony formed at Heraclea—Attack upon the Ambracians by Acarnania, and a truce for ten years—Purification of Delos—Sicily—Syracusans at Leontium—Sophocles—Eurymedon—Demosthenes—Agis—Siege of Pylus—Sphacteria taken—Brasidas conducts an enterprise against Thrace—Rallies a revolt against Athens—Siege of Amphipolis by Cleon, the Athenian general—Death of Brasidas and Cleon—Fifty years treaty between Athens and Sparta.

143. THE truce between Athens and Sparta, which was made for thirty years, was broken before half of that time had expired. Ancient jealousies and rival interests were at work for many years before the final rupture. The beginning of this rupture is traced to the interference of the Athenians on behalf of the Corcyreans, who had thrown off the authority of Corinth as their parent state. The Corinthians, who had asserted their political freedom in the time of Psammitichus, the nephew of Periander (B.C. 584), were led, by their position near the sea, to the pursuits of commerce, and had planted colonies at Corcyra, Epidamnus, Leucas, and Syracuse, in the west, and at Potidæa in the east. The Corinthian colonists in the isle of Corcyra had planted a colony at Epidamnus, now Durazzo, in the territory of an Illyrian tribe on the eastern shore of the Adriatic gulf. The democratical party expelled the oligarchical party from the new settlement; and these exiles, joined with the neighbouring barbarians, attacked them by land and by sea. The ruling party in Epidamnus having sought, in vain, the aid of the Corcy-

reans, claimed the protection of Corinth as their parent state. The Corinthians placed a garrison in Epidaurius, which involved them in a war with the Corcyreans. The Corcyreans applied for help to the Athenians. The envoys from Corcyra and from Corinth met at Athens. The result of a long conference was, that the Athenians formed a defensive alliance with Corcyra, and sent a fleet to assist them, if they should be invaded by the Corinthians. After a dreadful battle, fought in their ships closely jammed together, the Corinthians retired from the conflict with a large body of prisoners, including some of the principal men in Corcyra. The Corinthian colony at Potidæa, on the isthmus of Pallene, had become subject to Athens; soon after the Corcyrean war, the Potidæans threw off this yoke; but, though they were helped by the Corinthians, and received promises from the Spartans, they were compelled to submit again to the Athenian supremacy.

144. The Corinthians and the Athenians being thus brought into a condition of declared hostility, the states allied with Sparta met to confer on their future proceedings. The Corinthians, the Æginetans, the Megarians, and other states, complaining of wrong received from Athens, urged the Spartans to war. Messengers were sent to Athens with various demands, which the Athenians rejected. Pericles advised the Athenians to prepare for war. The war, on which both parties had decided, was precipitated by a hostile incursion of the Thebans, the most powerful of the Spartan allies, against the Platæans, who had richly shared with Athens in the glory of the Persian war. The Thebans were repulsed; and the Platæans entered into the closest relations with the Athenians. The Spartans summoned the entire confederacy of the Peloponnesus to the Isthmus; demanded supplies from their colonies in Sicily and Italy; and obtained what help they could from the Persians and Macedonians. The Athenians, on the other hand, obtained help from Thrace, and cavalry from Thessaly; and they sent their fleets to secure the fidelity of the different islands of the Ægean Sea. At home, in Attica, the people abandoned their lands, removed their flocks and herds to Eubœa, and other islands, and betook themselves, with their families, and all their movable property, to Athens. There, such as had

not houses or friends, were scattered among the sanctuaries, the towers of the walls, and such temporary abodes as they could erect, in whatever vacant places they might find.

145. The invaders, led by Archidamus, king of Sparta, crossed the territory of Megara, and laid siege to the Attic town of Ceneæ, the guard of the passes of Mount Cithæron, in the frontier line between Bœotia and Attica. Abandoning this siege, because of the impatience of his followers, Archidamus passed by Eleusis, crossed the ridge of Corydallus, and ravaged Acharnæ, the richest district of Attica, within eight miles of Athens. Pericles, notwithstanding the clamours of the people, stood in the defence of Athens, refusing to meet the enemy in the field. In the meantime, a large Athenian fleet, joined by the Corcyreans, laid waste the coasts of Argos, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis, and subjected the island of Cephallenia; while another fleet was sent to secure the defence of Eubœa. Archidamus, finding his provisions nearly exhausted, and being unable to provoke Pericles to an engagement, returned home through Bœotia, and dismissed his followers.

146. Winter brought with it a cessation of hostilities. Pericles found opportunities for vindicating his policy, and stimulating the hopes of the Athenians, in the oration which he delivered during the funeral ceremonies for such as had fallen for their country. For three days, the bodies of the dead received the embraces of domestic affection in open pavilions, after which they were carried in coffins of cypress wood to the Ceramicus, the most beautiful suburb of the city. The procession consisted of the fathers, sons, brothers, and female relatives of the slain, followed by long trains of citizens, and strangers. Such was the assembly gathered in the place of the burial of their heroes, to which Pericles addressed himself. His oration is given by Thucydides; and we shall refer to it in a future chapter.

147. In the summer following, Archidamus led his forces back to Attica. He destroyed the crops, and the fruit trees of the plain on the west and north of Athens, and then crossed to the eastern side, spreading ruin along the shore, till he came to Marathon. These ravages had reached almost to Athens, when he was compelled to retire

before the dreadful pestilence.—The origin of this pestilence is obscure. At first, it was imagined that the water had been poisoned. Thucydides, who witnessed and experienced it, seems to have thought that it was brought by infection from Egypt, through Western Asia. Probably the true cause might have been found in the crowded state of the fugitives from the invading army, and the bad food and general wretchedness of feeling, which so very much predispose the human frame to such diseases. It appeared first in the head, which was inflamed, and racked with pain. The eyes were red. The breath was foul. The throat and the tongue were tinged with blood. These symptoms were followed by hoarseness, violent sneezing, and a hard cough, sickness, and a convulsive hiccup, accompanied with burning heat, thirst, and sleeplessness. The sufferer died on the seventh or the ninth day. There was no remedy. From the first, the victims were seized with despair. Rushing from their dwellings, they crowded, struggled, and fell around the wells and cisterns. The streets and open places were strewn with corpses. Neither dogs nor birds of prey touched them. There was no law, no restraint, no consolation of religion. Crime ran uncontrolled. Neither individuals nor the state cared for the dying or the dead. Selfishness was so universal, that the few who waited on their sick friends, are mentioned by the historian as persons influenced by an extraordinary sense of honour!

148. At the beginning of this pestilence, Pericles, notwithstanding his refusal to meet the Peloponnesian confederacy in Attica, was at the head of a vast fleet, wasting the coast of Epidaurus and Sparta; but, as the pestilence raged in the fleet, as well as on the land, he was compelled to return soon after the retirement of the invaders. The disease extended afterwards to the army engaged in the siege of Potidea. Wearied and irritated by their sufferings, the Athenian people sent proposals of peace to Sparta, which were rejected. Pericles employed his wonderful eloquence to soothe the people, and restore their courage. Though he convinced them by his arguments, the general dissatisfaction was wrought up by Cleon, an enemy of Pericles, to such a pitch, that Pericles was sentenced to pay a heavy fine for some fault connected with his office as a general.

Notwithstanding this transient discontent, he was chosen again the following year, and fully reinstated in his commanding position. The next winter, the Potidæans were forced to surrender; and a colony of Athenians was sent to occupy their country.

149. The following summer, Archidamus was again at the head of the confederates, at the Isthmus. The dread of the pestilence kept them from invading Attica; the influence of the Thebans, however, induced them to attack Platæa, from which the Thebans had so lately been repulsed. As soon as Archidamus had encamped in their territory, the Plataeans sent a solemn protest against the impiety of the conduct of the Spartans in violating their oath to maintain the independence of Platæa. The Spartans offered to withdraw, on condition that the Plataeans should remain neutral in the present war for the liberties of Greece, or should give up their lands to the charge of the Spartans till the end of the war. The Athenians counselled the Plataeans to depend on their protection. The Plataeans gave the Spartans their final answer from the walls—"that they could not comply with the conditions." The country was then wasted, and the city besieged. The ingenuity of both the besiegers and the besieged was put to the utmost stretch; but the city continued to hold out. While this work was going on, the Spartans sent an expedition to harass the Athenians, and their allies in the western seas. As they were coasting along Achaia on their way to Acarnania, they were met by Phormio, with a small Athenian fleet, and all their galleys were sunk, captured, or put to flight. Phormio, announcing this victory at Athens, requested a strong naval reinforcement. Though his request was neglected or delayed, he succeeded, by a course of skilful manœuvrings, in discomfiting a much larger fleet. He was afterwards joined by an additional squadron from Athens, which had been detained at Crete. When the Spartan fleet was laid up, he proceeded to establish the Athenian ascendancy in Acarnania, and returned, with his plunder and his prisoners, to Athens. Before the winter, the Megareans suggested to the confederates a plan for attacking Piræus. The plan was to cross the Isthmus to Megara, to take galleys which should be waiting for them there, and go directly to Piræus. On

their way they took some ships, whose crews were ashore at Budorum, in Megara. The lighted fires conveyed the alarm to Athens, and the invasion was prevented.

150. The Athenians had formed an alliance, at the beginning of the war, with Sitalces, the monarch of the Odrysian Thracians. The Spartans desired a similar alliance with Persia; but their envoys, going first to the court of Sitalces, were delivered to the Athenian envoys then at his court, who carried them to Athens, where they were put to death. In the autumn of the following year, Sitalces invaded Macedonia, whose king, Perdiccas, had been faithless to himself and to the Athenians. The Athenians, professing that they did not expect Sitalces to perform his promise, which had indeed been long delayed, partook of the general alarm in Greece, at the occupation of Macedonia. They failed to send the armament which was to have joined him. Sitalces was persuaded by his nephew, who married Stratonice, the sister of Perdiccas, with a rich dowry, to leave the country, as the season was becoming boisterous, and his provisions began to fail.

151. It was in this year—the third of the Peloponnesian war—that Pericles died. Paralus, his only hopeful son, was struck with the pestilence. As the father placed the funeral chaplet on the corpse he wept. His own frame was attacked with a gentler form of the disease. When he felt his end approaching, as his friends were soothing their grief by reciting his exploits, he interrupted them, saying, "Other commanders have been as successful; the highest praise I claim is,—that I have never caused an Athenian to wear mourning."

152. The pestilence continued in Athens for two years. The hopes of the Athenians, the third time invaded by the Peloponnesians, were crushed by the failure of the Mityleneans, who, with the help of Sparta, had revolted from Athens: and, by the capture of their own general, Salmathus, who was taken to Athens and put to death. The Athenian assembly was deliberating on the fate of Mitylene, when, by the influence of Cleon, a man of low birth, coarse eloquence, and popular among the Athenians for his bold attacks on Pericles, and who had acquired the power of swaying their decision, it was decreed, that the prisoners from Mitylene should be put to death—that all the citizens

of Mitylene should, in like manner, be massacred—and the women and the children reduced to slavery. But another assembly was called to reconsider the question. Cleon supported the former decree by arguing that it was necessary to make a severe example, and imputing interested motives to those who wished the Mitylenceans to be spared. On the other side, Diodorus, granting that the decree might be just, maintained that it was not expedient. By a small majority, the sentence respecting the people at Mitylene was reversed. Swift rowers pursued the galley that had been sent a day earlier with the bloody decree, and arrived just within an hour of the time at which the lives of the Mitylenceans would have been sacrificed. The prisoners at Athens—a thousand men—were slain, as Cleon urged, without any trial. The walls of Mitylene were levelled; the ships seized; and the lands that were not consecrated to the gods were shared among Athenian colonists.

153. The siege of Plataea ended in its surrender to the Spartans. Two hundred of their citizens were put to death, after the surrender, on the pretence that they could not say that, during the war, they had done any service to Sparta or her allies. Twenty-five Athenians shared the same fate. The women were made slaves. The town and the territory were ceded to the Thebans.—An insurrection of the Corcyreans against the rich led to a horrid massacre, under the eye of an Athenian commander, which continued for seven days.—All these dreadful outrages are ascribed by Thucydides to the near balancing of the contending parties, which gave greater intensity to the spirit of each, and threw both into the hands of the most violent spirits of the age. Sparta was still free from any symptoms of decay. Athens was again visited with the pestilence; and these miseries were aggravated by earthquakes. Thus the strength of her population was wasted, and the severity of her laws were relaxed; yet, while Cleon carried his measures in the popular assembly, the armies of Athens and her fleets were conducted by men of the greatest eminence for rank, wealth, and talent. Under the guidance of such men, they sent expeditions against Melos and Boeotia, during a year in which the Peloponnesians refrained from invading their territory. The Spartans, under Agis, son of Archidamus, were checked from proceeding beyond the Isthmus, by

earthquakes, which inundated the lower countries with the waters of the *Ægean*. They founded a colony at *Herculeæ*, near to the Athenian possessions in *Eubœa*, and on the road to the northern boundary of Athens.

154. While the Athenian fleet, commanded by *Nicias*, was proceeding against *Melos*, another fleet, conducted by *Demosthenes* and *Procles*, went round *Peloponnesus* to attack *Leucas*. Abandoning this object, *Demosthenes* advanced into *Ætolia*, where he was unsuccessful, and lost his colleague, who was slain. The greater part of the fleet sailed to *Naupactus*, where they left *Demosthenes*, and then returned to Athens. The *Peloponnesians*, invited by the *Ætolians*, who had repulsed the Athenians, invaded *Messenia*; but *Demosthenes*, having obtained a thousand heavy-armed troops from the *Acarnanians*, rescued *Naupactus* from their grasp. The *Acarnanians* had sent their main forces to defend *Argos*, and the *Amphilochians* were encamped a little south of the *Acarnanians*, on the hills bordering the *Ambracian gulph*, to stop the progress of the *Peloponnesian* army as it proceeded to join the *Ambracians* in an expedition against the *Amphilochian Argos*, and *Acarnania*. An Athenian fleet, commanded by *Aristobulus* and *Hierophon*, appeared, at this juncture, in the *Ambracian gulph*, near the hill occupied by the *Peloponnesians*, together with their *Ambracian* allies. *Demosthenes* arrived at *Argos*, and was chosen commander of the *Acarnanian* forces.

155. After six days, the two armies came to an engagement. The Spartan commanders were slain. The *Ambracians* retreated with difficulty to *Olpeæ*. Their power was broken, and they suffered more than any Greek state during the war. But the *Acarnanians*, jealous of the Athenians, took the opportunity of dismissing *Demosthenes* and his followers with thanks and rich presents. After the departure of the Athenians, they joined their neighbours the *Amphilochians*, permitted the *Peloponnesians* to retreat unmolested from their country, and concluded a treaty of peace with the *Ambracians* for a hundred years. The Athenians, delivered from the pestilence, in the following winter, proceeded to purify the isle of *Delos*, the seat of *Apollo*, to whom their popular mythology ascribed the infliction and the cure of such diseases. This purifica-

tion consisted in the removal of the dead who had been buried in the sacred island. The sick were to be placed on the small isle of Rhenea, parted by a very narrow strait from Delos. To propitiate the favour of Apollo, they revived the ancient games; and to the exercises of wrestling, dancing, and music, added a horse-race. It became the custom of the Athenians to send victims for sacrifice, and a sacred chorus to sing hymns to Apollo. On such an occasion, Nicias, who has been mentioned as leading the expedition against Melos, was appointed, as one of the wealthiest and most honoured citizens of Athens, to conduct the sacred ceremonies. He landed, with his chorus, on the islet of Rhenea, crossed the narrow strait by a bridge profusely decorated, in stately procession towards the temple of Apollo, dedicated to the god a palm-tree made of brass, and gave the inhabitants a piece of ground, which he bought, for festive uses, on condition that they should pray for his prosperity.

156. In recovering from the effects of the pestilence, the views of Athens were directed towards Sicily. There were two parties in that country, at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. The cities of Corinthian origin, being Dorians, adhered to the Peloponnesian confederacy; while the cities of Chalcidean origin, being Ionians, adhered to Athens. The Leontines, belonging to the Ionian party, were blockaded, by sea and land, by the Syracusans, who held the supreme power in the island. In their extremity they sent Gorgias to apply for help from Athens. Gorgias, an eminent philosopher and rhetorician, gained the applause of the Athenians by his subtlety and eloquence, and succeeded in his mission. The Athenians, though suffering deeply from their recent calamities, had long been contemplating an expedition to Sicily; and it was with an ultimate view to such an expedition that they had carried on their operations in Corcyra and Acarnania. They sent a squadron of twenty galleys, under Laches and Charceades, to explore Sicily. These commanders made their station at Rhegium, which contained a powerful party of their friends. Their presence seems to have induced the Syracusans to withdraw their blockade from Leontium. One of the Athenian admirals, Charceades, was slain in a battle with the Syracusans. The surviving colleague, Laches,

having made some successful descents on Messana, and on the Locrian territory, was superseded in command by Pythodorus, who lost more than Laches had gained in Sicily. When the Spartans were committing their usual ravages in Attica, the Athenian commanders, Sophocles and Eurymedon, were sent to reinforce Pythodorus in Sicily: they were accompanied by Demosthenes in Acarnania. As soon as the fleet reached the Messenian coast, Demosthenes surprised the naval commanders by revealing to them his intention of occupying Pylus (Navarino), a rocky promontory near the island of Sphacteria, at the northern extremity of the bay, with a garrison of Messenians from Naxos. Though Pylus was not more than fifty miles from Sparta, the absence of their land forces in Attica, and of their fleet at Corcyra, gave Demosthenes time to construct a fortification, which he guarded with five of the ships which Sophocles and Eurymedon had left with him, when they pursued their voyage to Sicily.

157. The stay of Agis, with the Peloponnesian army in Attica, was shortened by the news of this occupation of Pylus. Returning to Sparta, he hastened to Pylus, with such forces as he could collect in Laconia, recalled the fleet from Corcyra, and sent for his allies to join him with all convenient speed. Demosthenes sent two of the galleys to inform Sophocles and Eurymedon of these movements of Agis. The Spartans occupied the isle of Sphacteria, and placed a bar of galleys at each entrance to the harbour. The assault on the little garrison of Demosthenes was baffled, as the Athenian fleet dispersed the Spartan ships, and shut up their garrison in the isle of Sphacteria, without any opportunity of escape, or of succour from the main land. As this garrison consisted in great part of Spartans belonging to their principal families, whom the whole allied force beheld entirely at the mercy of the enemy, nothing remained but to propose a truce. Ambassadors were sent to Athens to negotiate a peace. The Athenians dictated terms from which the Spartans recoiled; and the war was renewed with increased activity on both sides. The Athenians, however, began to feel the difficulties of their situation at Pylus; and the Spartans in the island were supplied with provisions from their friends. Athens became impatient.—Cleon and Demosthenes were

appointed to undertake an expedition to Sphacteria. Within twenty days, the island was taken. The Spartans were bitterly disappointed and depressed; and the Athenians, exulting more than ever in their superiority at sea, sent Nicias with a powerful armament against Corinth, and the eastern shores of the Peloponnesus.

158. Eurymedon and Sophocles, on their route to Sicily, had called at Corcyra, where their presence emboldened the popular party to cut off their opponents in the island by a dreadful slaughter. Before their arrival at Sicily little ground had been gained by their allies, the Leontines, against the power of Syracuse; and the presence of this large Athenian force led to an entire and unlooked-for change in the politics of the country. Guided by the counsels of Hermocrates of Syracuse, they resolved to save Sicily from the ambitious designs of Athens, by making mutual concession, and concluding a peace among themselves. As to Sparta, having lost, in addition to other reverses, the important island of Cythera, she was compelled now to act merely on the defensive, and to watch the movements of the enemy. The Athenian commander, after visiting her maritime districts, returned to Athens.

159. In this gloomy state of affairs at Sparta, there arose one of those remarkable men, so often called into action by the difficulties of the times. This was Brasidas. In the attack on Pylus, he had distinguished himself by his courage, and being covered with wounds, had left his shield for a trophy to the enemy. He now headed an enterprise against the Athenian possessions in Thrace, to which the Spartans were invited by the Chalcidians, and by the king of Macedon. With extraordinary vigour, he combined much wisdom, and a flowing eloquence, not usual in a Spartan. Having traversed the territories of Boeotia and Phocis, he now pacified the enemy of the king of Macedon; then induced the cities of Acanthus and Stageirus to follow the example of the Chalcideans in throwing off the yoke of Athens, and became master of the chief towns of the three Chalcidian peninsulas—Acta, Sithonia, and Pallene. The most important of these acquisitions, and that which most grievously distressed the Athenians, was the large and fair city of Amphipolis, in an island formed on the river Strymon. From this island Brasidas had the command of timber, from both banks of

the Strymon, for building ships; of the gold mines opposite Thasos; and of the fruitful vales of the Chersonese. These great conquests awoke the envy of the Spartan nobles. They seized the favourable opportunity for making a truce with Athens, for the sake of recovering their friends still in the island of Sphacteria, near Pylus.

160. The flower of the Athenian youth were led, in the following spring, by Cleon, to the Macedonian coast. They took Meude and Torone, and panted to attack Amphipolis. Their leader, waiting at Eion for troops from Perdiccas, the Macedonian king, who had quarrelled with the Spartan hero, was accused by his murmuring followers of cowardice. Urged by their impetuosity, he made a hasty approach towards the city. Brasidas, prepared for this, had planted an ambuscade in the woody heights above the city, while his main forces were drawn at the gates. After a signal given by Brasidas, the commander of these forces rushed forth on the Athenians, while Brasidas himself, at the head of a chosen band, attacked them from another quarter. The Athenians fled in such confusion, that they left their shields behind them. Cleon, who was foremost in the flight, was slain by a Myrcinian. Brasidas received a mortal wound. He was carried into Amphipolis, heard of his victory, and died. His fellow-soldiers buried him with all the solemnities of a military funeral. The inhabitants of the cities he had won by his eloquence, rather than by his sword, lamented his fall. Those of Amphipolis destroyed all the monuments of their ancient leaders, erected a statue of Brasidas in the most conspicuous part of their city, and appointed annual games to be celebrated around his tomb. The remains of the Athenian armament returned home. The removal of Cleon opened the path for the wiser councils of Nicias. Plistoanax, king of Sparta, entered into his peaceful views. An alliance was formed between the two states which had been so fiercely at war for fifty years.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARGIVE CONFEDERACY.

Disatisfaction of Sparta with the termination of the war—United attempts to secure Pylus—Peace of Nicias unpopular—Alcibiades—History—Personal and mental qualities—Eloquence—Attempt to break the Treaty—The Argives invade Epidaurus—Agis, king of Sparta—Battle of Mantinea—Formation of a new league with Sparta, by Argos—Broken—One with Athens renewed—State of Athens—Invasion of Melos—Athens victorious.

161. THE recent confederates of Sparta were by no means satisfied with a termination of the war which secured no benefit to them. The Corinthians represented this alliance between Athens and Sparta as a conspiracy against the liberties of Greece; and they excited the Argives to maintain their own pre-eminence, and the dignity of the Peloponnesus. The Argives, who had become powerful in their neutrality during the war, were not slow to move. The Mantineans, in Arcadia, who had resumed some small towns to which Sparta laid claim, were seeking the protection of the Argives. The Eleans were enemies of the Spartans. The Macedonians, pushed on by the Corinthians, and, at the same time, indignant at the Spartans for not following up the conquests of Brasidas, joined in the Argive confederacy. As the democratical party predominated in this confederacy, the Thebans and the Megareans, jealous of the growing strength of that party, kept back. The state of affairs, both at Sparta and at Athens, was such as to prevent the long continuance of this peace, which was called the peace of Nicias. The Spartans were unable to fulfil, on their part, some of the conditions; and the accession of new men to power led them to infringe on others. They abandoned Amphipolis; but they could not restore either that city, or the others in the adjacent country, which had yielded to the arms or arts of Brasidas. The captives of Sphacteria were restored to their Spartan friends; but Pylus was still retained by the Athenians. The anxiety of the Spartans to repossess Pylus induced them to form an alliance with the Thebans. The Thebans resigned Panactum to them, in exchange for which they hoped to receive Pylus from the Athenians. When this negotiation was concluded, the Spartans sent envoys to

Athens to propose the exchange of Panaetum for Pylus. At Athens, however, an altered state of feeling existed. The opposition to the peace of Nicias was vehement among the democratic party. It proved the occasion of bringing into public notice one of the most remarkable men in the history of Greece. Alcibiades was the son of Clinias, who had distinguished himself in the Persian war, a rich and liberal Athenian, boasting his descent from Ajax, one of the heroes of the Iliad. Pericles was a kinsman of Alcibiades, and had the charge of his youth. At an early age this youth imbibed or nourished the passion for distinction from the study of Homer; and as he approached to manhood, he won the affection and enjoyed the lessons of Socrates. At the battle of Potidæa, the philosopher saved the life of Alcibiades; and in the battle of Delium the pupil saved the life of Socrates.

162. The qualities of Alcibiades were of the most splendid kind. His noble and manly beauty of person, his wit, his courage, his eloquence, his vivacity, his judgment, his versatility of talent, his energy of purpose, all combined with his high birth and ample fortune to secure for him the distinction of which he was ambitious. At an early age he surrounded himself with flatterers, whose counsels led him away from the philosophy of Socrates to the gratification of his passions. By marrying the daughter of Hipponicus, the greatest man in Greece, he greatly increased his immense wealth. He spared no cost, no artifice, to flatter the Athenian people, that, through his influence over them, he might mount to power. He exceeded the grandeur of the greatest kings and princes at the Olympian games. The extravagance and unlawfulness of many of his acts excited the alarms and fears of the more thoughtful; but the people did not take offence at them. During the period of Cleon's ascendancy over the Athenian citizens, Alcibiades was cultivating the fiery eloquence in which he excelled all other men. After Cleon's death, the only hindrance to his climbing to supreme power, was the favour shown to Nicias by Sparta, which was mortifying to Alcibiades. He had recourse to various intrigues for breaking the treaty of peace with Sparta. He gave intimations to his friends at Argos that the Athenians were prepared to join the new alliance. He beguiled the Spartan

envoys—availing himself of his private friendship with one of their number, he promised to help them in obtaining the restoration of Pylus.

163. He represented to them that it would be against their interest to declare to the assembly of the people, as they had declared to the Council of Five Hundred, that they had full power to put an end to all differences. He required, as the price of his help to their cause, that they should disavow the possession of such a power. When these envoys appeared, next day, in the public assembly, they discovered, too late, the audacious treachery of Alcibiades. He demanded of them, before the people, the extent of their power. According to their engagement with him, they denied that they had full power to effect an amicable settlement. Affecting a tone of inexpressible indignation, Alcibiades thus addressed the Athenian people: "But yesterday, these envoys boasted of the power which they now disavow. This is the delusive policy of Sparta. Thus they have restored Amphipolis! Thus, Athenians, they restore the neighbouring towns of Macedon! Thus they put you in possession of Panactum with demolished walls! Thus they keep the treaty, ratified with solemn oaths! They league with Thebes, your determined enemy! Men of Athens! can you sit still under such indignities? Do you not expel such traitors" (pointing to the confounded envoys) "from your presence, and from your city?"

164. Nicias, and the other partizans of Sparta, unable to resist this harangue, failed in all their attempts to preserve the peace with Sparta. Soon after, the Athenians joined the Argive alliance, into which the Corinthians, who had suggested it to Argos, did not enter, as their hostility was to Athens rather than to Sparta. The Eleans showed their enmity to Sparta by excluding their people from the Olympic Games. The Argives invaded Epidaurus. Agis, the Spartan king, summoned the Boeotians and the Arcadians to join him in repelling them. Both parties were considered by the discerning on both sides to be in imminent danger. Two of the Argive commanders persuaded Agis, by holding out to him the hope of a lasting peace, to withdraw his forces. One of the Argive commanders, Thrasyllas, was severely punished for the part he took in this negotiation; and Agis was condemned, and disgraced, on his

return to Sparta. He pledged his honour to redeem this disgrace; but the Spartans appointed ten counsellors to limit his authority in all future undertakings.

165. The whole power of Sparta was immediately called forth to support their friends at Tegea, in Arcadia, now threatened with the entire force of the Argive confederacy. Agis at once restored tranquillity at Tegea; and sent for the Corinthians, Boeotians, Phocians, and Locrians, to join him at Mantinea. The Argive army, in which the Athenians took the lead, prepared to give them battle. By a sudden stratagem, Agis, turning the waters of the Ophis on the Mantinean plain, forced the enemy to retreat. But next day, coming back to see the effects of his stratagem, he beheld the Argives drawn up in battle array upon the plain. The various nations in the great confederacy were addressed, before the battle began, by their respective leaders. The Mantineans were told to look at their city, for whose freedom and existence they were now to contend. The Argives were stirred by the recollection of their ancient supremacy. The Athenians were told of their hereditary renown.—On the other hand, the Spartans, reminded of their invincible valour, marched slowly, with a firm tread, “to the Dorian mood of flutes and soft recorders,” presenting a calm, unbroken front, to meet the impetuous onset of the enemy. The noblest youth of Argos behaved with bravery. The Mantineans fought as men whose all was at stake, and routed the Spartan left wing. The Athenians were nearly surrounded, but effected a retreat, while Agis drew away the main body to relieve his left wing from the pursuit of the Mantineans.

166. The Spartan king redeemed his pledge to efface the late dishonour, and the battle of Mantinea was won by the Spartans in the absence of his allies. Instead of pursuing the enemy, who fled in disorder, he returned home to celebrate his victory, and to assist in the Carnean festival. The effect of this victory was to strengthen the Spartan party in Argos. Only a few weeks after the battle of Mantinea, the popular government in Argos was overturned, the alliance with Athens was broken; and a new league was formed with Sparta. But this revolution was short-lived. In the midst of the great Spartan festival, the Gymnophædia, the people rose in arms against their new rulers, of whom

many fell, and the remainder fled from the city. The alliance with Athens was renewed. Immediately after the battle of Mantinea, the Eians, who, for private reasons, had before declined joining their allies, sent three thousand men; and the Athenians repaired their loss with a reinforcement of one thousand. These united forces avenged themselves on the Epidaurians by constructing a fortress on the neighbouring promontory of the Heræum, and leaving there a garrison.

167. The power of Athens continued to flourish, and her population to increase, in the midst of their bloody wars. Impelled by the restless activity which these wars had kept in exercise, and resolved to gratify at once their pride and their vengeance, the Athenians were prompted by Alcibiades to invade the beautiful island of Melos. This island, one of the largest in the Cyclades, of a circular form, and rich in the productions of a most genial climate, lay opposite the cape of Malea, the southern promontory of Laconia. Its situation and its riches had, long before, induced the Spartans to form a colony there, which had now been flourishing, in political freedom, for seven hundred years.

168. Before the Athenians began their operations against it, they sent envoys to the citizens of the capital, to persuade them to surrender. At a meeting of the magistrates, deputed to meet these envoys, the Athenians proposed that, as they were not permitted to address the people at large, they should listen patiently to the objections that might be offered to their demands. The Melian deputies then entered into a long conference with them, at the end of which they told them that they were content to remain neutral; but that they would not betray the freedom which they had honourably maintained for seven hundred years. The Athenians, forthwith, commenced a blockade. After several months of patient and brave resistance, these unhappy islanders fell victims to the cruelty of their assailants. All the men, and youths above fourteen, were put to the sword; the women and children were made slaves; and their vacant lands were divided among five hundred colonists, from neighbouring places in the power of Athens.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION.

Leontines—Proceedings and war with Syracuse—Preparations for the expedition—Description—Larentum—Rhegium—The three propositions of council—Naxos—besiege—Alcibiades—Nicias—Lamachus—Account of Syracuse—Assault of Syracusans upon Athenian camp—Scattered by a tempest—Determination of the Athenians to conduct the expedition—Eurymedon—Conon—Decolus—Demosthenes and Nicias put to death—Failure of the expedition.

169. NOTWITHSTANDING the internal pacification of Sicily by the wise counsels of Hermocrates, the Leontines, still apprehensive that they were exposed to peril from the power of Syracuse, admitted a large body of new citizens, and proposed, for their maintenance, a new division of the lands. This proposal led to a revolution, in which the poorer people were expelled by the richer, with the help of the Syracusans. Abandoning Leontium, a portion of these wealthy usurpers repaired to Syracuse: others of them settled down at Phocææ, and at Bricinnæ, two strong fortresses in the Leontine territory, where they were joined by the poorer exiles from Leontium, and carried on a war against Syracuse. It now became the policy of the Athenians to avail themselves of any disputes that might arise among the conflicting parties in that country. Soon after the subjugation of Melos, some feuds in Sicily furnished them the opportunity for which they were watching. Nicias, Alcibiades, and a poor but honest citizen, named Lamachus, were appointed to head an expedition to secure the interests of Athens in that island.

170. Both Nicias and Socrates used their utmost endeavours to prevent this expedition; but they were overborne by the influence of Alcibiades, and by the enthusiasm of the people. The day was fixed for the departure of the expedition. All the inhabitants of Athens were gathered at Piræus. The vastness of the undertaking—the pomp of the galleys—the brilliant armour of the adventurers—the parting of friends and kinsmen, presented the most dazzling and affecting spectacle ever witnessed in a Grecian harbour. The trumpets sounded from a hundred ships. These sounds were responded to by the shouts of the multitudes

on the shore. The prayers of the voyagers mingled with the vows of the spectators, and from gold and silver cups libations were poured out to the gods. All lifted up their voices in one loud *Pæan*, and the fleet was soon lost in the distance of *Ægina*. From *Ægina* they had a prosperous voyage to *Corcyra*. Instead of boldly crossing the Ionian sea to Sicily, they coasted along the Italian shores to Messina, sending galleys before them to the Grecian cities to prepare for reception in their harbours, and supplies of provisions. The people of *Theorium* closed their gates against them. *Tarentum* and *Locri* refused them water. The *Rhegians* barely allowed them to purchase the necessaries of life. While lingering at *Rhegium*, they received intelligence that they had been deceived by the party who had invited them to Sicily.

171. In the midst of these disappointments the three commanders held a council. *Nicias* proposed that, after leaving as many ships as their allies the *Segestans* could keep in pay, the remainder of the fleet should sail along the Sicilian coasts to display their power, and then return to their own harbours. *Alcibiades* proposed that they should take more bold and active measures; that they should detach the weaker cities from *Syracuse*; and that the war should be carried on till the *Leontines* were restored to their territory, and the injuries of the *Segestans* were redressed. *Lamachus* proposed that they should at once attack *Syracuse*, and thus weaken the heart of the enemy's power. The spirited proposal of *Lamachus* was not agreeable either to the timidity of *Nicias*, or the vanity of *Alcibiades*. The plan of *Alcibiades* was adopted. One detachment of their forces was sent to explore the strength of *Syracuse*; another, led by *Alcibiades*, proceeded to *Naxos*, and a third to *Catana*. Having persuaded the people of *Naxos* to join the Athenians, *Alcibiades* arrived at *Catana*, where the ships were refused admission to the harbour. He obtained permission to address the assembly. Charmed by his eloquence, the citizens flocked to hear him; and the soldiers, catching the general contagion, left their posts and mingled with the crowd. The Athenians, watching their opportunity, contrived to find an entrance through the unguarded gates, and took possession of the city.

172. The progress of these successful adventures was

suddenly checked by the recall of Alcibiades to Athens, to answer heavy charges brought against him by his enemies. Some nights before the departure of the Sicilian expedition, the city had been filled with alarm by what was regarded as a desperate act of sacrilege. The boundaries of property in the city were marked by stone busts of Hermes. With only one exception, all these images had been thrown down and broken. This daring act was suspected to be part of a deep conspiracy to overthrow the popular government in Athens. The enemies of Alcibiades accused him of being the author of this outrage, and they raked up all the levities and impieties of his character to kindle against him the superstitious rage of the people. Alcibiades demanded an immediate trial. The invaders of Sicily rallied around him, and the trial was postponed. In his absence, the city was distracted by heart-burnings. Many of the chief citizens were thrown into prison on suspicion of sharing in the conspiracy. The absent were recalled for trial. A state galley was sent to Sicily for the suspected parties there, and among them Alcibiades. He was allowed to accompany the state vessel sent to summon him, in his own galley. Resolving not to return to Athens, he concealed himself at Thurii till the *Salaminia*, the vessel from Athens, had departed with the other state criminals. The report of his escape reached Athens, where he was condemned to die. He took refuge first at Cyllene, an Elean port, and, at the invitation of the government, he went from thence to Sparta, where we shall find him in the progress of the history, advising the measures which led to the ruin of his country.

173. The retirement of Alcibiades gave the wealth and authority of Nicias the entire ascendancy over his colleague Lamachus. After some less important movements, Nicias was urged by the warriors that accompanied him to proceed against Syracuse. This ancient city, besides the small island which now bears the name, included a long shore reaching from the island to a promontory on the north, and narrowing on the north-west to a point at the mountain ridge of Epipolæ. Besides these natural fortifications, it had walls eighteen miles in extent, and was defended by three distinct, yet united harbours. Animated by Hierocrates, the Syracusans harassed the Athenian camp at

Catana, cut off their supplies, destroyed their advanced posts, and insultingly demanded whether they had not come to settle themselves in a foreign country, instead of replacing the Leontines in their own.

174. The difficulty of assaulting Syracuse, thirty miles distant from Catana, Nicias removed by a stratagem. A cunning native of Catana repaired to Syracuse, bitterly lamenting the yoke of the invaders, and imploring the aid of Syracuse to repel the Athenians, whom he represented as so much off their guard that it would be easy, with the help of Syracuse, to attack them, and drive them from the island. A day being appointed for the Syracusan succours to join the Cataneans, the Athenian fleet sailed on that day for Syracuse, entered the principal harbour, and fortified a camp without the western wall. The Syracusans, finding that they had been outwitted, returned, and, in a few days, they commenced an assault on the Athenian camp, with the advantage of a greatly superior force. The battle had raged for many hours, when a sudden tempest, accompanied by unusual peals of thunder, put the assailants to flight. The Syracusans escaped to the city, and the Athenians returned to their camp, and soon after retired to Catana, and took up their winter quarters, first at Naxos, and then at Catana. The Syracusans strengthened their fortifications, improved the discipline of their army, and sent envoys to Corinth and Sparta, imploring their aid by attacks on the Athenians in their own country. At Sparta, the suggestions of Alcibiades were followed. Gylippus, a Spartan commander, aided by the Corinthians, repaired to Syracuse, and rendered such help to the people there, that Nicias saw his armament exposed to ruin. He wrote to Athens, fully explaining the situation of affairs, and urging that a powerful reinforcement should be sent to him in the spring.

175. So intent were the Athenians on the expedition, that, in the depth of winter, Eurymedon was sent with ten galleys, and a hundred and twenty talents, with promises of larger supplies, to Sicily; while Corion was despatched with twenty galleys to Naupactus, to cut off the reinforcement expected in aid of the Syracusans from Corinth and the Peloponnesus. In the spring, the Spartans, in order to prevent the Athenian armament from following the squadron of Eurymedon to Sicily, sent Agis to ravage the

plain of Athens, and to fortify a post which had been pointed out to them by Alcibiades as that in which they could most deeply injure his country. This post was Decelea, about fifteen miles north-east of Athens, a steep eminence commanding the plain to the Saronic gulph, and overhanging the road to the east of Bœotia, along which the Athenian supplies were brought from Eubœa. By occupying this position, Agis reduced Athens to a state of siege; yet he did not prevent the naval armament, under the command of Demosthenes, from setting out for Sicily. When Demosthenes arrived at Sicily, he found the Syracusans prepared for a sea-fight. Unsuccessful in his attempts on shore, he suggested to his colleagues in command, that, as the conquest of Sicily was hopeless, they might be better employed against the Spartans in Attica. Eurymedon took the same views. But Nicias, contrary to his usual prudence, urged that they should remain, in the hope of a more favourable opportunity of victory, at Sicily. Fresh succours were brought to the Syracusans from Peloponnesus, and a combined attack on the Athenians, by sea and land, was determined on.

176. Nicias began to see his error. Lamachus, his colleague in command, had been slain in a battle with the Syracusans. Nicias himself was labouring under a severe attack of disease, when the threatened assault of the enemy began, within the narrowest space in which two such armaments had ever met. In the midst of terrific tumult and carnage, the Athenians were driven from the scene in despair. After dreadful sufferings, and many unsuccessful attempts at a retreat, they at length made their escape. But they were pursued by the victors. Demosthenes, and six thousand, surrendered. Nicias was put to death, and Demosthenes shared his fate. The greater part of the prisoners were either slain or confined in a hollow in the side of Epipolæ, a hundred feet deep. It is said by Plutarch, that some of the captives were required by their conquerors to recite passages from the poetry of Euripides, which had often melted the Syracusans to tears; and that they were so charmed with the taste and pathos of their Attic enunciation, that they received them kindly into their houses, and restored them to their country—the wreck of that armada which had left Athens with so much pomp.

CHAPTER XV.

ATHENIAN REVOLUTIONS.

Effects of the failure of the expedition on the Athenians—Their resolutions—Victory at Samos—Projected revolution by Alcibiades—Election of the Four Hundred—Abolition.

177. THE calamitous result of the expedition to Sicily was not immediately known at Athens. The tidings seemed too dismal for the Athenians to believe. It was only after many reports, and the arrival of the wretched fugitives, that the people slowly awoke to the truth. The sorrow was deep and universal. The Areopagites expressed their dignified grief in silence. The multitude abandoned themselves to the most frantic passions, rending the air with their cries, and rushing furiously on the orators who had urged the expedition, and on the diviners who had promised success. In the harbour of Syracuse, the hopes of the state had perished. The other states of Greece rejoiced in their misery. Their dependent allies prepared to throw off their allegiance. A Syracusan fleet was prepared to invade Piræus, and the Spartan garrison was within a few miles of their city. The Persian, gaining influence on the eastern side of the Ægean, was resolving schemes for recovering the whole Asiatic coast. The impression of the superiority of Athens to all other states was gone. Alcibiades, the ablest of their own statesmen, was enjoying the protection and directing the counsels of the enemy. Under all these dark prospects, there still remained the bold heart of a free people. They resolved to use the greatest private economy; to build a new navy; to appoint a small body of experienced citizens to conduct the necessary business; to fortify the headland of Sunium, for the protection of the galleys which brought their corn; to watch the proceedings of other states; and to unite, with all their might, to recover their disastrous losses. As soon as their ships were ready, they harassed the Spartan squadron returning from Sicily, and the Peloponnesian vessels, preparing to co-operate with

the Persians on the Hellespont. They gained a victory, not only over the Persians, but over the oligarchical party in Greece, at Samos. There still remained, however, opposed to them, the great Peloponnesian confederacy, now strengthened by an alliance with the power of Persia. By a deadly quarrel with Agis, king of Sparta, Alcibiades had been induced to seek the confidence of Tissaphernes, the Persian general. He opened to the Athenian commanders in Asia the prospect of the help of the Persians against their enemies, if they could succeed in demolishing the democracy in Athens. At the same time, the state of parties in Athens was not inconsistent with the hope of accomplishing this design.

178. The noble and the wealthy had acquired influence, and the principal authority in the state, in consequence of the public calamities. Antiphon, a man of the highest character, was the secret agent of this projected revolution. The opponent of it was Phrynichus; but after many acts of treachery, prompted by hatred of Alcibiades, he became its abettor. Alcibiades failed in his scheme for the Persian alliance; but Antiphon, aided by the boldness of Phrynichus, the eloquence of Theramenes, and the activity of Pisander, conducted his plans with so much prudence, that he obtained the consent of the Athenian people to repeal the decree against Alcibiades, and to submit to an entire change in the constitution. He declared that the present crisis demanded important improvements in the fabric of the government. He read the names of five persons, to be appointed by the people, to choose a hundred, each of whom should choose three associates. These four hundred, all men of wealth and dignity, were to have the uncontrolled power of the state, and to assemble, at such times, and for such purposes, as they should judge proper, five thousand citizens to consult on the administration of public affairs. The people had been gradually prepared for assenting to these proposals. Some of the most daring popular leaders had been secretly assassinated. Great numbers of political associations, formed for particular purposes long before, had been gained over. The hope of securing the alliance of Persia was strong. The difficulties of the times were pressing, and the public safety was believed to be more

important than forms of government, which might hereafter be revised.

179. The Four Hundred were chosen, and took possession of the powers of government. They sought peace, on dishonourable terms, with Sparta. They overawed others by mercenary troops from the lesser islands in the *Ægean* Sea. Their tyranny was soon felt in Athens; and the fugitives from Athens carried the tidings to Samos, where the same party had effected a similar revolution. The people of Samos, aided by Leon and Diomedon, Athenian generals; by Thrasybulus, commander of a galley; and Thrasyllus, a soldier, overturned the new party, and bound themselves by an oath to oppose the Four Hundred at Athens. Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus superseded the generals and captains that were suspected of adherence to the Athenian oligarchy. They recalled Alcibiades from the court of the Persian satrap. Intelligence of these movements in Samos increased the discontent in Athens, arising from disappointment, and from apprehensions that the new government was about to betray their national independence. Phrynicius, who had been sent in the embassy to Sparta, was murdered, on his return to Athens. A Peloponnesian squadron appeared in the gulf between *Ægina* and *Piræus*. The Athenian fleet, hastily sent out to meet it, failed. *Eubœa* revolted, and sent supplies to the Peloponnesus, instead of the Athenian ships. It was amid the excitement of these disasters, and while the threatened invasion was prevented by the timidity of the Spartan admiral, that *Theramenes* arraigned the leaders of the late revolution as traitors to the state, who had brought the enemies of Athens to aid them in enslaving her citizens. The constitution of the Four Hundred was abolished, its framers were condemned to death, and Alcibiades was recalled.

CHAPTER XVI.

END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Different battles fought—Exploits of Alcibiades—Thrasylus defeated at Ephesus—State of affairs in the twenty-fifth summer of the war—Return of Alcibiades to Athens—Benefits—His departure for Asia—Lysander—His proceedings—Callicratidas—Theramenes—Eteonius—Lysander obtains possession of the city of Lampsacus—His stratagem—Further victories—Ruin of Athens—How celebrated—Reflections—Uses of history.

180. THE connexion of the Peloponnesians with Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, in Asia Minor, had made the coasts of that country the scene of the war; and numerous battles were fought, which it would be only tedious to detail. The Eubœans had carried out a mole at Chalcis, and another at Aulis, on the opposite coast of Bœotia, with a tower at the end of each mole, and a bridge over the narrow strait of Eripos, connecting their island with the mainland. The exploits of Alcibiades in the east had so reduced the Peloponnesian navy, that the Spartans had made a fruitless effort to procure a peace. While they were forming a new navy, Thrasylus was making great preparations at Athens, and, having completed them, he proceeded to the Asiatic coast, where he was defeated in a battle at Ephesus. Pylus, so long held by the Athenians, was recovered by the Spartans. Nissæa was wrested from the power of Athens by the Megareans. But these losses were balanced by the energy of Alcibiades. Gathering all the strength of the Greek towns on the Chersonesus, he forced the Thracians to submit to him, took Chalcedon, Selymbria, and Byzantium, at the time when Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, was appointed Persian satrap of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor. He then sailed to Samos, and levied large sums of money on the coast of Caria. He sent Thrasylus, with a large naval force, to reduce Thasos, and to restore the sovereignty of Athens in most of the cities which had revolted in Thrace. He then sailed to Paros, Gythium, and, finally, to Piræus, with the prizes which he had taken in the east. The Athenians were still harassed by the Spartan garrison at Decælia, notwithstanding their naval glory. It was now the twenty-fifth summer of the Peloponnesian war.

181. The Athenians felt that they owed their heaviest calamities to the expulsion of Alcibiades, and they were prepared to receive him, after his late brilliant exploits, as the deliverer of his country. They formally revoked the decree by which he had been banished. They appointed him one of the new generals, and prolonged the term of his command. They crowded the shore to greet his return. He landed amid acclamations as loud and general as those which had witnessed his departure, with so much naval pomp, for Sicily, eight years before. The day after his landing, he appeared before a public assembly of the citizens, where he defended himself from all the charges which his enemies had brought against him. The enthusiasm of the people was so great, that his enemies were hushed to silence. The records of the former proceedings against him were flung into the sea. His property, which had been confiscated, was restored. A crown of gold was decreed to him. They even offered him a royal sceptre. But he declined an honour incompatible with the freedom of the republic; saying that "Athens needed not a king, but a single general, to raise her to the highest power and splendour; and that he aspired to no higher rank than that which had been made illustrious by Themistocles and Cimon." He was appointed absolute commander of all the forces of the commonwealth. It was a few months after the restoration of Alcibiades that the annual celebration of the mysteries took place at Eleusis. In former times, the Athenians had always marched to this festival in solemn procession; but since the Spartan occupation of Decelea, which commanded the road, they had been obliged to go by sea. Alcibiades resolved to renew the procession by land; and Agis, deterred either by superstition, or by the fear of attacking an enthusiastic people with their renowned leader at their head, permitted the heralds, priests, and other parties engaged in the procession, to pass and to return without hindrance.

182. For the last time, Alcibiades left the Athenian shore, amid the hopes of his fellow-citizens, for Asia Minor.—The Spartan government were happy in having at their disposal a man qualified to compete with Alcibiades: this was Lysander, who, to high birth, and to the usual abilities and energy of his countrymen, added a softness of manners.

and insinuation of address, which fitted him to negotiate with the Persians. He received the command of the Peloponnesian forces in the east. After sailing to Ephesus to meet the Spartan envoys who had been sent to treat with the Persian court, he repaired to Cyrus at Sardis. By his subtlety and flattery, he won the confidence of the Persian prince, and obtained from him a large advance of money, which he spent in the increase and repair of his fleet. Alcibiades was unsuccessful in his attempts to counteract the proceedings of Lysander at Sardis. He left Antiochus at Notium, to watch Lysander's movements, with orders to avoid any engagement with the enemy; while he himself went to Thrasybulus, at Phocæa, to concert measures for resisting the power which threatened the overthrow of his country. Antiochus, contrary to orders, provoked a battle with Lysander, in which he was defeated and lost his life. Alcibiades, hearing of this, proceeded with his fleet towards Ephesus; but Lysander would not risk a battle with him. The Athenians were discouraged by these tidings, as well as by the loss of Andros, Chios, and Eion. The enemies of Alcibiades, availing themselves of the popular disappointment, procured his removal from command. Alcibiades had provided a refuge for himself near the Hellespont. His place was occupied by Thrasyllus, Leon, Diomedon, Cimon, Pericles, son of the former Pericles, and five others, who immediately proceeded to Samos.

183. The removal of Alcibiades was soon followed by a change in the Spartan fleet. Lysander's year of command being out, he was succeeded by Callicratidas, a man of a totally different character. In the midst of much difficulty he took the principal cities of Lesbos from the Athenians, repulsed the fleet under the command of Conon, but fell in a sea-fight with the Athenians near the rocky isles of Arginusæ, on the Æolian coast, opposite the south of Lesbos, in which the Athenians were crowned with the most important victory they had ever gained. The Spartans made overtures of peace to Athens, which were rejected. In consequence of the losses in the Athenian fleet, all the commanders, except Cleon, were recalled; and several of them were brought to trial for misconduct, condemned, and put to death. The prime instigator of these measures was Theramenes, who appears to have been influenced, partly, by a

view to his own safety, and, partly, by the oligarchical faction opposed to the policy and the friends of Alcibiades. Callieratidas was succeeded in the command of the Peloponnesian armament by Eteonicus; but the confederates, joined by Cyrus, sent envoys to Sparta to request that Lysander might be re-appointed. It was against the Spartan law to re-appoint the same commander; but the form was evaded, by sending Lysander as the second in authority under Aracus, but with actual supremacy. On receiving this appointment Lysander repaired to the court of Cyrus at Sardis, and received from him large supplies of money, and the direction of the revenues of his province during his own absence in Upper Asia. With these resources, he pressed into his service the seamen of Caria and of Ionia; and, sailing to the Hellespont with a large fleet, which he fitted out in the port of Ephesus, and other harbours of Asia Minor, took possession of the Athenian garrison, in the wealthy city of Lampsacus, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. The Athenian fleet, coming up too late to save Lampsacus, had an opportunity of insulting Lysander, who, after suffering them to revel in the hopes of victory, employed a successful stratagem for deceiving them; he took seventy-one of their ships, slew all the men who fought, drove the rest to flight, and brought two of their commanders—Philocles and Adamantus—with three thousand other prisoners, to Lampsacus. There were only nine vessels that escaped. Eight were conducted by Conon to Cyprus, and the ninth carried to Athens the tidings that her empire of the sea was lost.

184. Lysander pursued his victory by conquering Byzantium and Chalcedon; by reducing Mitylene, and confirming the possession of Methymna, in Lesbos; by establishing the Peloponnesian supremacy in Caria, Lydia, and the adjacent islands; by ravaging the shores of Macedon; subduing the ports of Thrace; and by bringing into alliance with Sparta the most favoured regions and most civilized portions of the world. During the eight months in which Lysander was thus adding conquest to conquest, he kept his eyes on Athens. The supplies of grain for that city had been cut off by the Peloponnesian squadrons. Their harbours were blocked up. The people were dying of famine and horrid disease. The principal leaders of the

democracy had been destroyed by the opposite faction. The walls and fortresses of Athens were levelled to the ground. The triumph on her ruin was celebrated by a festival, in which the noblest passages of Grecian poetry were recited. One of these passages was from the *Electra* of Euripides, in which the chorus says,

" Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides,
Thy straw-thatch'd palace I approach !"

The allusion to the fallen state of Athens, resembling that of the royal princess, exiled from the palace of her father, melted the assembly into tears. Athens, the queen of the ocean—the sovereign of Greece—was fallen ! Seventy-six years after the battle of Salamis, and on the anniversary of that day, the Peloponnesian war was ended.

185. The review of this long war, which lasted twenty-seven years, suggests many reflections. We can dwell only on those which are connected with the personal advantage of the reader. Whatever may be thought of the ambition of the great leaders in this war, or of the states involved in it, how manifestly does it show the misery inflicted on mankind by their own passions. Here were many territories in a country smaller than our own, speaking one language, connected by many common interests, and endowed with great liveliness and power of mind, and yet, by their mutual jealousies, they inflicted unspeakable miseries on each other. The men who took the lead appear in their true character by their actions. With them, vanity, ambition, revenge, were the ruling motives. These motives were equally strong in both the great parties by which Greece was divided—those who confined the power of government to a few, or those who divided it among the many. There can be no doubt that it is natural to us to desire the esteem and approbation of our fellow-men—to wish for the power to carry out our own designs—to express our feelings when we are injured. But it is one of the uses of this history to show to what excess these desires, wishes, and feelings may be carried, and with what ill consequences such excess is followed. We should be on our guard against being dazzled by great names and heroic deeds. We are to look through the outward glare, and trace the inward spirit of men's lives as they pass before us. If we look back on the

remarkable men who have been prominent in these scenes, we behold in them many of the qualities which the world has agreed to admire. At the same time, how many other qualities there are which our holy religion condemns, and which we are taught to hate and to avoid. We cannot be blind to the selfishness of these men, their dishonest artifices, their open wickedness, their licentiousness, their cruelty, their pride. While we know that it would be unfair to judge them by the standard by which we are to be judged, it is not unfair to judge them by the same standard by which they judged each other.

186. Why should we judge them at all? There are many reasons. We cannot read of them without forming some opinion of their character. It is of great moment that our opinion of them should be sound. If we judge favourably of them, we shall be apt to imitate them by committing the same faults, however different our situations in life may be. If we commit the same faults, we shall not be only as wicked as they were, but a great deal worse; because we have more knowledge of God, are more fully acquainted with his will, and are bound by higher motives to obey it. If, on the contrary, we condemn the faults of these men, as we must, according to the light which has been given us, then how much more severely shall we condemn the same faults in ourselves; how grateful should we be to God that he has taught us better; how earnestly should we implore the forgiveness of our sins by the grace of God, for the sake of his dear Son, with whose perfect character he is "well pleased," and who "gave himself a ransom" for offenders; how constantly should we seek the Holy Spirit to make us, not like the men we have been reading of, but like our Saviour; and how carefully should we watch against every temptation by which we might be led astray. With such views as these, let us look upon this Grecian story; and let us see how plainly it proves the truth of Scripture respecting fallen man.

187. We shall have occasion, as we advance, often to pause and reflect on what we have been reading. Reading should lead to meditation. The use of historical reading is to supply facts on which to meditate, and from which we are to draw practical inferences. Was not Pericles a proud aspiring man, who saw his way to distinction in making

the Athenians proud of their city, and their country; and who, at his death, forgetting the blood of thousands shed to gratify his ambition, consoled himself with vanity and falsehood? Was not Alcibiades a fierce and wayward man, who spent his youth in debauchery, dazzled the people with the hopes of freedom that he might be their ruler, and plotted the ruin of his fellow-citizens to gratify his personal revenge? Was not Lysander a false, cunning, ambitious schemer, who employed his great talents for the ruin of the people who stood in his way?

188. If we turn from the leaders to the people, we see substantially the same bad qualities. The iron-hearted Spartans—the voluptuous Corinthians—the treacherous Thebans—the haughty Athenians—all, though with circumstantial differences, treated as enemies those who interfered with their pleasures, their gain, or their glory; worshipping the men who accomplished their purposes, and murdering the same men when they disappointed them;—trampling on the rights of nations in the name of freedom, and sacrificing the lives of men, women, and children, to the basest and most malignant passions. The historians of Greece have painted these people in glowing colours, and they have been copied by most of those who have made use of their materials. But who can think of the crimes and miseries which were spread over the fairest regions of Europe and Asia, by the selfish quarrels of these people, without a blush and a sigh for human nature?

"Lands intersected by a narrow frith
Abhor each other. Mountains interposed
Make enemies of nations, who had else,
Like kindred drops, been mingled into one.
Thus man devours his brother, and destroys!"

COWPER'S TASK.

189. In the closing scenes of the Peloponnesian war, we see the judgments of God chastising the pride of Athens. What a miserable harvest did she reap from the seeds which she herself had sown! This is part of the great plan by which heaven rebukes the sins of men. Even a Roman philosopher perceived that "those who endeavour to render themselves formidable to others, sooner or later feel the effects of living in continual fear and apprehension." The Holy Scriptures teach us "that the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands; he made a pit and digged

it, and is fallen into the ditch which he had made: his mischief shall return upon his own head." And the history of Greece, like many others, is filled with mournful illustrations of these truths. It is true, indeed, that nations professing a better religion have been but too prone to indulge the same passions; and they, in like manner, have been punished. Yet it ought not to be forgotten, that whatever be our national profession, the spirit of the gospel is only profitable to us so far as it influences our personal character. Whatever other men, in any land, or at any time, have done, our duty and our happiness consist in cultivating "the mind that was in Christ Jesus."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE THIRTY TYRANTS OF ATHENS.

Conquest of Samos—Appointment of the Thirty Tyrants—Their names—Their object—Cephalus—Lysias—Polemarchus—Theramenes and Critias—Murder of Theramenes—Death of Alcibiades—Attack on Phyle—Speech of Thrasybulus—Treaty of peace.

190. It was not until after the humiliation of Athens, that the isle of Samos yielded to the arms of Lysander. In each of the islands and cities, thus brought under Spartan dominion, there was a party favourable to Spartan views, from whom Lysander selected a governor. The bitter cup of slavery was sent round to all. The cruelty of the government was so oppressive, that the subjects would have gladly exchanged it for the haughty dominion of Athens, or even of Persia. The Athenians had given up their fleet, and a Spartan garrison possessed their citadel. At the mercy of their conquerors, they were compelled to submit to a change in their government. This consisted in the appointment of thirty with supreme power. Their names are given by Xenophon: Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclidas, Hiero, Mnesilochus, Chremos, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phædras, Charilaus, Anæstius, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnecithides."

191. The object of these tyrants was to reduce Athens to a condition in which she could neither awaken the jealousy, nor resist the force, of Sparta. They put to death the worthiest citizens. Among these were Niceratus, son of Nicias; Leon, and Antiphon. To be popular was to be dangerous. Wealth was a crime. One example may suffice. Cephalus, a Syracusan, had been induced, by the friendship of Pericles, to settle in Athens, and had maintained, in troublous times, a high character for thirty years. His sons, Lysias and Polemarchus, inherited his reputation and his riches. Though they had not aspired to become citizens, they had largely contributed to the support of the state. These men became the victims of the tyrants. They were robbed by them of their property. The golden earrings of the wife of Polemarchus were violently torn away by Melobius. Polemarchus himself was imprisoned and poisoned. Lysias, after much suffering, made his escape to Megara. When their oppressions were carried to a desperate length, Theramenes, himself one of the thirty, and the proposer of the scheme, made great efforts to rescue the innocent from the grasp of his colleagues. He was opposed by Critias, who prevailed on his other colleagues to bring Theramenes to trial as an enemy to the government. He was brought before the senate, and Critias addressed them in an artful speech, in which he brought forward all the inconsistent actions of Theramenes, to prove that he was a traitor. Theramenes defended himself by asserting that though he had often changed his conduct, his principles had never varied; that he always had opposed, and always would oppose, the tyranny of the magistrates, whatever might be the form of government. His defence was in vain; Theramenes was condemned to die, and a body of men armed with daggers appeared. Starting at the sound of the sentence, he sprang to the altar; from thence he was dragged by the executioners to the marketplace. The cup of hemlock was put into his hand. He poured the last drop on the ground, as a libation to "the honest Critias."

192. The murder of Theramenes having removed the only restraint upon the tyrants, they drove the people from their lands and from their homes, forbidding any Grecian city to afford them shelter. But they could not destroy the

laws of humanity. Megara, Argos, and Thebes, received the fugitives in crowds.

193. In these miserable circumstances, it was natural for the suffering Athenians to cast a wistful eye towards the abode of Alcibiades in Thrace. But when the Spartans acquired the sovereignty of the Hellespont, he fled from his fortress, and found a quiet refuge at Grynium, in Phrygia, under the protection of Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap. To that peaceful retirement he was pursued by the fears of the tyrants. In the darkness of the night, a band of Phrygians set fire to his dwelling. Alcibiades, alarmed by the noise of the flames, seized his sword, folded his left arm in his mantle, rushed through the burning timbers, and fell beneath a shower of darts.

194. Among the Athenian exiles in Thebes and Megara, was a man endued with the spirit and abilities required to revive the hopes of his fellow exiles. A fortress at Phyle, on the border between Boeotia and Attica, a place of great strength, was occupied by Thrasybulus at the head of seventy followers. The tyrants were foiled in an attempt to force them from this strong-hold, by a tempest and an unusual fall of snow. The little band increased to seven hundred. In a wood, nearly two miles from Phyle, the Spartan mercenaries were surprised at night by Thrasybulus, who slew a hundred and twenty, and carried their arms to Phyle. The tyrants, with the three thousand citizens who alone were allowed to carry arms, fled for safety to Eleusis, where they first disarmed, and then slaughtered, such of the inhabitants as were believed to be disaffected to their usurpation. Thrasybulus was now joined by Lysias, whose sufferings we have described, and advanced towards Piræus, whose inhabitants were indignant at the oppressions of a council of ten placed over them by the thirty. On a rising ground, occupied by the forces of Thrasybulus, he addressed his followers, urging them, by the most exciting appeals, to an honourable victory or a glorious death. A soothsayer, who attended him, foretold the success of their enterprise, if they waited for one of their number to be slain before they began the charge. Rushing forth to meet the javelins of the enemy, the soothsayer himself fell. The battle was soon ended. Critias and Hippomachus, the most hated of the thirty, were slain. At the foot of the hill, Thrasybulus ordered

the herald to proclaim, with a loud voice, to their retreating adversaries—"Why, O Athenians, would you flee from your fellow-citizens? Why have you driven us from among you? Why do you thirst for our blood? By religion, by policy, by family, we are one. Together we have fought by land and sea, to defend our freedom and our country. Even in this unhappy contest, we have wept over your losses, as our own." Deprived of Critias, their leader, the tyrants were driven from their power; and ten magistrates, one representing each tribe, were chosen in their place. These new magistrates followed the courses of their predecessors, and sent for help to Sparta. There, the kings and the senate, jealous of the arrogant Lysander, and resolved to humble him, sent to Athens, Pausanias, one of the kings, by whose influence the government by tyranny was destroyed, the Spartan garrison withdrawn, and the authority of the people restored. An amnesty was declared for restoring the exiles to their city, and forgetting and forgiving the offences of the past.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

Socrates—His history—Manner of spending time—Public accusation—Trial—Sentence—Death.

195. ONE of the earliest and most remarkable transactions of Athens, after the restoration of her ancient government, was the trial of Socrates. Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, was born at Athens, forty years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. His youthful taste was formed in the profession of a statuary, in a city, and in an age, which displayed the arts in their highest magnificence; but a stronger inclination led him to the study of the nature of virtue and happiness. In the mornings, he might be found conversing with all who repaired to him in the groves of the Academy or the Lyceum; at midday, in the public assembly of the citizens; in the

evenings, among his private friends at entertainments, or on the banks of the Ilyssus. We have seen that Alcibiades admired his eloquent wisdom, though he departed from the precepts which his example commended. The same is equally true of Critias, whom we have lately beheld as one of the thirty tyrants of Athens. Though Sociates was poor, he accepted neither payments nor presents from his disciples. While he spoke with reverence of the Athenian deities, and conformed to the usual worship, he acknowledged one Supreme Being. During the Peloponnesian war, sceptical opinions on religion were spread among the rich, and superstition gathered strength in the body of the people, and, along with superstition, a fanatical intolerance.

196. For many years, Socrates had been protected by the influence of Alcibiades, and other powerful friends who had been charmed or benefited by his instructions. But among the men whom he had convicted of ignorant pretensions to knowledge, there were those who were prepared to excite the popular hostility against him. The poetry of Aristophanes, a most influential comedian of the day, had long before held him up to ridicule and fear. He was publicly accused of not believing in the divinities worshipped by the Athenians, of introducing new divinities, and of corrupting the youth of Athens. The first of these charges he denied. The second he acknowledged, so far as that he believed himself to be guided by an inward voice, which he regarded as from heaven. The third charge he appears not to have understood, or to have evaded. He refused the aid of Lycias, who had prepared a defence for him, affirming that his only defence was a blameless life, spent for the advantage of the public. By a majority of only six voices he was condemned to die. As it was the custom of the Athenians to permit the condemned to mention to the court some other punishment, Socrates said that his punishment should be an honourable maintenance as the friend of Athens. But his friends persuaded him to mention a small fine. He was sentenced to drink hemlock. The day before his trial, the stern of the sacred vessel annually sent from Athens to Delos to commemorate the return of Theseus from Crete, had been crowned with laurel by the priest of Apollo, and from that day, till the return of the vessel, it was unlawful

to put a criminal to death. The contrary winds which detained the vessel, prolonged the life of Socrates for thirty days. These days were spent in conversation with his friends. When the executioner brought the fatal cup, he drank it off with composure, and even cheerfulness. His death was the signal for the dispersion of his followers. In after times, he was worshipped in the city where he had been condemned.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GREEKS IN THE EXPEDITION OF THE YOUNGER CYRUS.

Proceedings of Cyrus—Battle with Artaxerxes—Cyrus slain—State of things between Greeks and Persians—Retreat of the Ten Thousand—Length of time spent in the expedition—Xenophon—His death.

197. WHEN Cyrus left his province in Asia Minor under the charge of Lysander, he repaired to his father's court, with the expectation that, as the first son of Darius after his elevation to the throne, his mother's influence would secure his appointment as successor to the kingdom. Being disappointed in this, he returned, with the Greeks who had accompanied him, to Sardis, and formed a scheme by which he hoped yet to mount the throne of Persia. All the Greek cities on the coast, except Miletus, transferred their allegiance to him, and he appointed Xenias, an Arcadian, commander of the Greeks in his service. Many other Greeks were attracted to his court. Among these were, Clearchus a Spartan, Aristippus a Thessalian, and Proxenus a Theban. At the same time, he formed an alliance with the Spartan government. Under the pretence of an expedition against the Pisidians, who had defied the Persian authority, he passed through Cilicia and Syria, across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, to meet his brother and sovereign, Artaxerxes, against whom he *now* declared that this expedition was undertaken. In a battle fought between the royal brothers and their respective armies, Cyrus himself was slain; and at Cunaxa on the Euphrates, not far from

Babylon, his barbarian troops were put to flight; but the army of Artaxerxes was routed by the Greeks. After this, the Persian monarch sent to the Greeks, who were suffering for want of food, to demand their arms. Clearchus replied, that "It was not usual for conquerors to give up their arms." Cleanor, an Arcadian, said that "They would rather die." Proxenus asked the messenger, "If the king made the demand as a conqueror, why did he not come and take their arms? If he asked them as a favour, what had soldiers left, if they gave away their arms?" Their united answer was, "If they were to be the king's friends, they could serve him better with their arms than without them. If they were to be his enemies, they would have greater need of them."

198. At the distance, by the way they had gone, of two thousand miles from Ephesus, the Greeks received a second proposal from Artaxerxes, not to lay down their arms, but for a truce. They replied, that "They wanted food." They were then conducted to villages where they might obtain corn, dates, and palm wine. While resting in these villages, they were visited by Tissaphernes, well known as the satrap at Sardis before Cyrus, declaring that he was using his influence with the king to permit him to lead them home in safety, and that the king had sent to know what was their motive in fighting against him. They sent word that they had been induced by various motives to join Cyrus, without knowing the purpose of his expedition till it would have been dishonourable to forsake him; and that, now Cyrus was dead, they would return peacefully home if they were not attacked, but if they were attacked, they would stand in their own defence. A treaty of peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes was soon concluded. But, in the course of their march, the Greek generals were betrayed by Tissaphernes, and put to death.

199. Most of the Greeks had followed with great reluctance; and now that they had lost their generals, they found themselves twelve hundred miles from Greece, without a leader, and without provisions, to fight their way home through an enemy's country, with a mighty army watching their steps, and ready to fall upon them, and cut them off. In the sleepless night which followed the discovery of their condition, they were assembled by

Xenophon, a young Athenian, a friend of Socrates, who had joined the expedition as a private adventurer, at whose suggestion, and under whose guidance, they began the glorious retreat of the Ten Thousand. Escaping, not without much difficulty, from the Persians, they passed along the mountainous territory of Cardactria; marched through the frost and deep snow of the Carducian highlands, and the countries of the Chalybes and the Scythians; and they were filled with unutterable joy at the sight of the sea (the Euxine) from the Mount Theches. Passing the heights of the Colchian Mountains, they arrived at Trapezus, a Grecian city on the coast of the Euxine, where they spent a month in plundering the Colchian territory, and in observing solemn sacrifices and festive games. Putting their sick into ships at Trapezus, they marched along the southern shore of the Euxine to Cerasus and Cotyora, from whence they sailed to Harmene, a port near Scirope, where they remained five days, and then sailed to Heraclea and Byzantium. From Byzantium they proceeded to Pergamos.

200. The expedition and the return occupied a year and three months. The history of it is given by Xenophon himself, in one of the most graceful of narratives; and the recollection of it had great influence on the proceedings of the Greeks towards the Persians in after times. Xenophon joined Agesilaus in his wars with Persia, in the west of Asia. Being banished from Athens for accompanying Cyrus, he received from the Spartans a house and some land near Scillus, a small town of Tryphidia, in the neighbourhood of Olympia. He appears to have died, in a good old age, at Corinth.

CHAPTER XX.

AGESILAUS.

Agessilaus, king of Sparta—Exploits—Taking of Atarneus—Dercyllidas—Tissaphernes—Civil war in Sparta—Agessilaus, at the head of his army, proceeds to Ephesus—Meets Tissaphernes in the vale of Meander—Marches against Sardis—Death of Tissaphernes—Tithraustes—Invasion of Bœotia—Battle of Coronea—Spartans victorious—Progress of the art of war—Conon—Repair of Athens—Thibazus—Antalcidas—Petty wars in the states—Peace of Antalcidas—Effects of the peace—Siege of Mantinea—Phlius—Violation of the treaty—Conquest of Thebes—War with Olynthus—Reflections.

201. THE narrative of history is rendered clearer, and is most easily remembered, in proportion as it keeps before the mind some distinguished individual, and connects the train of events with his character and actions. The hero who now appears is AGESILAUS, king of Sparta. Before his accession to the throne, the Spartans, as we have seen, had taken part with Cyrus against Artaxerxes, the king of Persia. On the arrival of Tissaphernes in his province in Asia Minor, he found the Ionian cities indisposed to submit to his authority, and allied, for their defence, with Sparta. The Spartans sent an army to Asia, under the command of Thimbron, who induced Pergamos, and forced the other cities, to submit to Sparta. Thimbron was succeeded by Dercyllidas. Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ, maritime towns, together with Æolis, Cebren, and Scepsis, were brought into subjection within a few days. The Bithynian Thracians were next subdued. Dercyllidas then crossed the Hellespont, and, by building a wall across the isthmus which separated Chersonesus from Thrace, he protected from the invasion of the Thracian barbarians, the rich country of Chersonese, with its eleven towns, and many capacious harbours. Having completed this undertaking with astonishing rapidity, he took Atarneus, a strong fortress, held by some exiles from the island of Chios, who continually harassed the Ionians; and then returned to Ephesus. Crossing the Meander, accompanied by Pharax, he unexpectedly met, in the vale, the Persian army, consisting of Carians, mercenary Greeks, and a large body of cavalry, with both Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus at its head. The Persians, shrinking from a conflict with the Greeks, who had proved themselves to be so formidable in the army

of Cyrus, proposed a meeting of the chiefs for negotiation.

202. On behalf of Sparta, Dercyllidas required that the Asiatic Greeks should be declared independent; on the part of Persia, Tissaphernes demanded that the Spartan harmostæ, or governors, should be removed from the towns, and that their armies should depart from the territories of the king. It was agreed that these terms should be sent to Sparta, and to the court of Artaxerxes. Meanwhile, the Spartans were engaged in war at home. A dispute, on several grounds, had arisen with Elis. Agis, king of Sparta, invaded the territory of the Elceans, and forced them to a dependent alliance with Sparta.

203. After the subjugation of Elis, Agis proceeded to Delphi with the tenth of the spoil taken in the war. On his return he was seized with illness at Ilerie, a town in Arcadia. He was carried home to die. By the Spartan law of descent, Leotychides was heir to the throne, and, on his death-bed, Agis acknowledged him as his son, though, at the time of his birth, he had publicly declared that he was not his child. The next heir to the throne was Agesilaus, the half-brother of Agis. Though small in stature, and lame, Agesilaus possessed great qualities of mind. His friends were the first men in Sparta; and among them was Lysander, who used all his address on his behalf, and succeeded in procuring his elevation to the throne. Within two years he was appointed to the more powerful office of commander of the Greek forces in Asia. At the head of an army composed of Lacedæmonians and their allies—which the Corinthians, Thebans, and Athenians, refused to join—and accompanied by a council of thirty, which included Lysander, Agesilaus repaired to Aulis, in Bœotia,—the same harbour from which Menelaus, the Spartan king, in the heroic age, had led the expedition against Troy. Following the example of Agamemnon, he stopped at Aulis to offer sacrifices for the success of his expedition. During these solemnities, he was interrupted by a party of Bœotian horse; but, suppressing his resentment, he conducted his armament to Ephesus, as a convenient centre for all who flocked from every part of the coast to his standard.

204. Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, who had entered

into a truce with Dercyllidas, had applied to the king for more troops. Not long after the arrival of Agesilaus, he sent an embassy to Ephesus to inquire the design of this invasion. Agesilaus replied, "that the Greeks in Asia might enjoy the same independence as the Greeks in Greece." Tissaphernes then proposed a continuance of the truce till ambassadors from Artaxerxes should arrive from Susa, to ratify a peace between the Persians and the Greeks. But, as Agesilaus expected, Tissaphernes only waited for an addition to his forces to send a message to the Greeks—to leave Ephesus, and depart from the Asiatic coast, or prepare for war with the whole power of Persia. The Spartan king returned for answer, "that he thanked Tissaphernes for the advantage of beginning the war with a perjured enemy." Tissaphernes hastened to meet Agesilaus in the vale of Meander, that he might prevent his gaining the passes of Caria, where the mountainous nature of the country would be favourable to the Greek infantry, but ill adapted to the movements of his own cavalry. Agesilaus, however, leaving a garrison in Ephesus, marched rapidly towards the north, and after subduing the Phrygians, and ravaging their country, returned with the plunder to winter in Ephesus. As in the war, the king of Sparta shared the toils of the meanest soldier, so, during the peaceful occupation of Ephesus, he gained the favour of the inhabitants of the country by employing the wealth of Phrygia in rewarding their industry, and by the activity, splendour, and liberality with which he carried on his preparations for the next campaign.

205. In the following year, Agesilaus marched against Sardis, the royal city, and the seat of the Persian power in Asia Minor. Without opposition, he made himself master of the adjoining country, and drew the Lydians to his side. Tissaphernes, who had maintained his position in the vale of the Meander, under the notion that the Greeks would invade Caria, now sent a body of Persian cavalry after Agesilaus, who defeated them on the banks of the Pactolus, and took possession of their camp, their camels, and their gold, and silver. The conduct of Tissaphernes was so represented by his enemies in the Persian court, and most of all by queen Parysatis, who hated him for his opposition to her son Cyrus, that Artaxerxes, believing that his

removal would lead to peace, and to the withdrawal of the Greeks, appointed Tithraustes to take away his life, to succeed him in command, and to effect a peace with Agesilaus.

206. On the arrival of Tithraustes with a strong body of cavalry, he sent ambassadors to the Spartan king, announcing the death of Tissaphernes—the author of the troubles between Greece and Persia—and declaring the readiness of Artaxerxes to acknowledge the independence of the Greeks in Asia, if Agesilaus would withdraw his troops. The Spartan replied, that he could not remove his forces without the command of the republic. Tithraustes, unable to accomplish his purpose, induced Agesilaus by a large sum of money to abandon the Lydian province, and to return to Phrygia. On his march towards Phrygia, Agesilaus received, in Ionia, a welcome letter from Sparta, thanking him for his past services, extending the period of his command, and placing at his disposal a powerful fleet. By means of this fleet, the Persians were driven from the Asiatic seas; Pharnabazus, the satrap of the northern province, was expelled; the Paphlagonians, and other barbarians of Lesser Asia, joined the Spartan standard; Egypt revolted from Persia; and Agesilaus entertained the ambitious hope of conquering Persia itself.

207. But Tithraustes, who knew the power of gold, sent Timocrates of Rhodes—a bold intriguer—to factious leaders in Argos, Corinth, and Thebes, who excited the jealousies of the several Grecian states against Sparta. By involving the Locri Ozolæ, who were friends of Thebes, in a dispute with the Phocians, who were friends of Sparta, they provoked the Spartans to invade Bœotia, the territory of the Thebans. In that invasion, the Thebans were reinforced by the Athenians, and the Spartans were repulsed with great loss at Haliartus, the next Bœotian city to Thebes in strength. Lysander was slain in the assault. Pausanias was forced to return in disgrace, and fled from punishment to Tegea, where he died. The states of Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Athens, were now leagued against Sparta; and they were soon joined by the people of Eubœa, Acarnania, Leucas, Ambracia, Chalcis, and Thessaly.

208. Tidings of this state of affairs in Greece were sent to Agesilaus, when he had just finished his preparations for^a

marching into Upper Asia. With the tidings, he received his recall. In the stern spirit of Spartan obedience, he left his confederates in Asia, passed successfully through the hostile country of Thessaly, and invaded Boeotia with all his forces. He there learned that his brother-in-law, Pisander, had been defeated and slain in a naval engagement with a Phœnician squadron commanded by Conon, the Athenian, at Cnidus—a loss which threatened the Spartan dominion in the east; and that, on the other hand, the Spartans had triumphed over the Greek confederates in a battle near Corinth. The enemy was once more assembled in the plain of Coronœa, a Boeotian city thirty miles from Thebes. After a terrible battle in this plain, during which Agesilaus was often wounded, the Spartans remained masters of the field. Agesilaus went to Delphi, to offer the tenth of his Asiatic spoils to Apollo. Returning towards the Peloponnesus, he sent his eastern followers to their respective cities, his Lacedemonians to gather their vintage and harvest; and he returned home to Sparta by sea.

209. The Corinthians, whose country became the seat of war, had eagerly promoted the confederacy against Sparta; but the rich and noble among them, wearied with their losses and sufferings, were now disposed towards a separate peace with Sparta. Their secret conferences for this purpose were watched by the party most hostile to Sparta, who, while receiving the gold of the Persian satrap, were zealous of Corinthian liberty. This latter party put an end to the schemes of the former by a frightful massacre. Choosing for their opportunity a day of festival, they slew the priests at the altar, the magistrates on the seat of justice, the citizens in their walks, or in the theatre; while they allayed the terrors of the great body of the people, who were rushing into voluntary exile, only by declaring to them that their single object was to deliver the city from the partisans of Spartan slavery. The spirit of sedition cursed the Corinthian republic for many following years. The foreign powers of Argos and of Sparta kept this spirit mischievously active. These contending powers gained but little advantage by their respective victories over each other. The Spartans had the pre-eminence in the field, and the Athenians on the sea. On both sides, large bodies

of mercenaries were brought into action, and the art of war was carried to a higher pitch of perfection.

210. The eastern victories of Agesilaus had, in reality, weakened Sparta in Greece; and Conon, the commander of the Athenian navy, with the help of Persia, detached from her dominion the western coast of Asia Minor. Having gained favour with Artaxerxes by his exploits against the Spartans, Conon received a large sum of money from the Persian treasury; and, returning home, excited the Athenians to rebuild their walls, and restore their harbours to a state of defence. Alarmed at the prospect of the reviving prosperity of their great rival, the Spartans used their utmost diligence to persuade the Persians to withdraw their aid from the Athenians. To effect this object they deputed Antalcidas, a man scarcely inferior to Lysander in the art of intriguing with the Persians, to Tiribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes in the government of the southern provinces of Asia Minor, with proposals of peace. They declared themselves willing to acknowledge the dependence of all the Grecian cities of Asia on the Persian empire, and to regard all the cities and islands of Greece as independent of each other. With these proposals, Tiribazus and Antalcidas repaired to the court of the great king. After long delay, and petty wars between several of the Grecian states, a great variety of motives induced Artaxerxes to declare himself favourable to the wishes of Sparta; and the arrangement known in history as the Peace of Antalcidas, was settled.

211. However important this peace might be to the views both of Persia and of Sparta, it could not be submitted to without great reluctance by the other leading states of Greece. Thebes was to lose her proud pre-eminence among the cities of Bœotia. The Argives were to withdraw their garrison and their democratical influence from Coriuth. The Athenians were to resign all their distant possessions, excepting the islands of Scyros, Imbros, and Lemnos, and to sacrifice at once the fruits of their recent victories, and the hopes of rising to their former state of grandeur. The peace brought with it neither glory nor safety. It soon appeared that the object of Sparta was to place herself at the head of a new confederacy, by which she might recover the power she had lost in Greece

by her victories in Asia. In all the lesser cities, intrigues were set on foot to excite mutual jealousies which, once roused, were referred for settlement to Sparta. Not content with this kind of subjection, the Spartans resolved to take arms against every city that refused to join the confederacy ; thus conquering in detail the places whose united strength it would have been hopeless to attack.

212. Nearly in the heart of the Peloponnesus was Arcadia ; and nearly in the centre of Arcadia was the prosperous state of Mantinea. In the year after the treaty of Antalcidas, Spartan envoys were sent to Mantinea to accuse the people of enmity to Sparta, and requiring them to destroy their walls, and, abandoning their city, to disperse themselves among the villages and pastoral scenes in which their fathers had lived. When the Mantineans indignantly rejected these proposals, the Spartans declared war against them ; and an army commanded by Agesipolis, one of their kings, invaded their territory and laid siege to their city. The Mantineans, confiding in their walls and in their plentiful stores, remained unshaken. But Agesipolis, knowing that the walls, which resisted the battering engines, being built of unbaked bricks, might easily be destroyed by water, stopped the course of the Aphis—the river that flowed through the plain and the city—and thus flooded the lower part of the walls. The Mantineans were thus forced to surrender, and, in obedience to their conquerors, to pull down their houses in the city, and to disperse themselves throughout the country. The small state of Phlius, by different means, was made to share the same fate.

213. Before the Peloponnesian war, the cities of Chalcis, bordering on Macedonia, closely bound together by common interests, had struggled together against the power of Athens. When the Peloponnesian war was ended, Olynthus took the lead among these cities. Apollonia and Acanthus, two of the Chalcidian cities, refused to submit to the sovereignty of Olynthus ; and Amyntas, king of Macedon, who had intrusted part of his dominions to the Olynthians, when he was defeated in a war with the Illyrians, now joined Apollonia and Acanthus in requesting the aid of Sparta against Olynthus. The envoys described the plans and the resources of Olynthus for becoming formidable by land

and by sea, and assuring the Spartans that this ambitious state was about to ally herself with Thebes and Athens, conjured them to lose no time in checking her rising power.

214. The Spartans, nothing loath to engage in such an undertaking, immediately sent Eudamidas with a strong force to the Chalcidian peninsula. He made Potidæa his head quarters. Phœbidas, brother of Eudamidas, followed with another division. Instead of proceeding to Olynthus, he encamped near the walls of Thebes, under some pretence, on the nature of which the ancient historians differ very much. It is not unlikely that he was induced to remain in the neighbourhood by the Spartan party in Thebes. Through the influence of that party, Leontiades, one of their number, had been appointed polemarch, an office of great power, which he shared with Ismenias, one of the opposite party. Leontiades offered to put Phœbidas in possession of the citadel of Thebes; thus gaining for Sparta a greater advantage than the conquest of Olynthus could be. This offer Phœbidas joyfully embraced. On the day on which he professed to take his departure for Macedonia, he was suddenly recalled by Leontiades, who repaired with him to the Cadmæa, or citadel, in which the Theban matrons were then celebrating the festival of Ceres, from which men were carefully excluded. Leaving Phœbidas in possession of the citadel, Leontiades then proceeded to the market-place, where, on that day, the council of the city were assembled, and Ismenias was of the number. He told the council that the citadel was in the possession of the Spartans by his advice, and that no hostility was intended. He committed Ismenias to prison; about four hundred of the democratical party, alarmed at this arrest of their leader, sought refuge in Athens.

215. Leontiades repaired to Sparta to receive the sanction of the government for the violation of the treaty of Antalcidas, which had thus been committed. With a hollow show of justice, the Spartans fined Phœbidas, and dismissed him from his command; but they kept possession of the Theban citadel, strengthened their garrison there, appointed new commanders, and sent judges to try Ismenias. He was condemned, and put to death; and the Spartan faction, with Leontiades and Archias at their head, had the entire sway

in Thebes. Having secured these advantages, the Spartans prosecuted, with renewed vigour, the war against Olynthus. Eudamidas had lost his life, by approaching too near to the city. The second expedition was headed by Teleutias, brother of Agesilaus; and it was composed not only of Laconian forces, but of the cities of the Peloponnesian confederacy, now including Thebes. On his way to Olynthus, Teleutias sent to Amyntas, king of Macedon, and to Derdas, prince of Elymia; the former of whom sent a body of Macedonian troops, and the latter came himself with about four hundred Elymian horse. Their first assault on the Olynthians was attended with some slight success. In the second assault, in the following spring, Teleutias himself was slain, and his army put to flight by the Olynthians. The presence of Agesilaus being required at the siege of Phlius, in which he was successful, his royal colleague, Agesipolis, was appointed to the command. In the midst of a successful campaign, he died of fever. His place was supplied by Polybiades, who harassed the Olynthians both by sea and by land, until they were obliged by famine to surrender, and to take a place subordinate to Sparta in the Peloponnesian confederacy.

216. The story of these Spartan wars presents us, once more, with the picture of selfishness, injustice, and fraud, under the pretence of policy and expediency. In the intercourse of states, as much as in the intercourse of private individuals, there can be but one safe rule—doing what is right, because it is right. In defiance of this rule, we see the Spartans aiming at ambitious conquests in the east, betraying the liberties of Greece to gratify their own revenge, and violating the faith of solemn treaties to increase their own power. It would be impossible to form an accurate idea of the cruelties inflicted on families and peaceful individuals by these unprincipled wars. But there were constant repetitions of scenes like those enacted by the Thirty Tyrants of Athens. Innocent men were plundered of their property, or banished from their homes, or deliberately murdered. Yet we shall learn, as we advance in the course of the history, that the men who were guilty of this wickedness, miserably suffered and perished in their turn. Such are the wages of sin! Such are the retributions of a just Providence! Oppression produces despair; and despair often leads to resistance. Even

in this world there is proof enough of the wisdom and the righteousness of God. Though for purposes often beyond our comprehension, He leaves men and nations to follow their own courses, they cannot follow those courses without punishing one another, and meeting, sooner or later, the due reward of their deeds. In a future world, the whole mystery will be cleared up. Then every man will find that he has not been unobserved by God in any moment of his life, and that he will be in His hands for ever. At what a price do men buy a place in history! At what an enormous sacrifice have they attained the objects of their ambition! And, in the end, how contemptible will all those objects appear, when contrasted with the fruits of self-denial, humility, justice, and benevolence! From these histories, statesmen have drawn the lessons of their policy; patriots the inspiration of their valour; and orators and poets the themes of eloquence and song. Let the Christian, however, read in these histories the character of fallen man, and trace the government of God. How true it is that the heart of the sons of men is "fully set" in them to do evil! And, at the same time, how plain it is, "that verily there is a God that ruleth in the earth."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE THEBANS.

Pelopidas—Epaminondas—Destruction of the Tyrants—Cleombrotus—Sphodrias attacks Piræus—New expedition against Thebes by Agesilaus—Convention of states at Sparta—Speech of Epaminondas—The Sacred Band—Spartans invade Boeotia—Cleombrotus slain—Victory won by the Thebans at Leuctra—Effects of it—Civil feuds in Greece—Foundation of Megalopolis—Invasion of Laconia—Founding of Messene—Congress at Delphi—Influence of Thebes—Jason—His death—Meeting of deputies at the Persian court—Epaminondas invades the Peloponnesus a third time—Conquers Achaia—Death of Pelopidas—Battle of Mantinea—Thebans victorious—Death of Epaminondas—Character—Remarks on patriotism.

217. It was stated in the previous chapter, that four hundred exiles from Thebes escaped to Athens. As the distance between these two cities was not more than thirty-five miles, the oppressed in the one would have many opportunities of communication with the exiles in the other; and in both the cities, there were parties, larger or smaller, prepared to help them to throw off the domination of the

Spartans, which had been so treacherously obtained, and which continued to be so oppressively administered. Though all the exiles from Thebes at Athens were not favourable to democratic government, the violent proceedings of the Spartans prepared them to unite with others in the common cause. Among the most distinguished Thebans of the time were Pelopidas, the son of Hippocles, and Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis.

218. Pelopidas was of high birth, and of great wealth, with an hereditary attachment to the freest form of government. Epaminondas, though of an honourable family, was poor, and addicted to the meditations of philosophy. These two men were united by the closest bonds of friendship, and in a steady devotion to the independence of their country. Pelopidas had accompanied the fugitives to Athens, when the Spartans took the Theban citadel; while Epaminondas, anxious to prevent violence, and the bloodshed of his fellow-citizens, remained at Thebes. The bold mind of Pelopidas formed a design for the deliverance of his country, which he communicated to his brother exiles at Athens. This design was fostered by their friends in Thebes. Epaminondas maintained a secret correspondence with Pelopidas and his companions in Athens, and encouraged the Theban youth to excel the Spartans of the citadel in exercises for the trial of strength. The brother of Epaminondas, Cephesius, entered warmly into the general plan. Phyllidas, one of their most vigorous friends, a man of singular activity and cunning, had won the confidence of the tyrants of the republic; and, repairing to Athens, under the cover of private business, opened to the exiles there a scheme for the destruction of the tyrants. He had promised an entertainment to two of them, Archias and Philippus. The same day was fixed for the conspiracy of the exiles. They resolved to assemble on the Thrasian plain, on the frontier between Attica and Boeotia; while Pelopidas, with a few more Thebans of rank and zeal, entered Thebes in the disguise of hunters, and were received into the house of Charon. On the evening of the banquet at the house of Phyllidas, a messenger from Archias required the attendance of Charon; but he returned to assure his friends that he had found the tyrants heated with wine, and alarmed by reports; but that he had calmed their fears. An

Athenian had sent a letter to Archias, revealing the particulars of the plot; yet so intent was he on his pleasures that he delayed to open the letter, saying, "Business to-morrow."

219. At the appointed moment, when Archias was expecting some Theban ladies, whom Phyllidas had promised to introduce, Mellon, and a few others, concealing their daggers beneath the female attire in which they were disguised, instantly dispatched their intoxicated victims. At the same time, Leontiades, who had betrayed the Theban citadel to the Spartans, fell by the hand of Pelopidas. The prisons were thrown open. Arms were seized in shops and in the public arsenals; and the whole city was thrown into confusion, in the midst of which the fall of the tyrants was proclaimed, and the Thebans were summoned by a herald to assert their freedom. In the morning the armed exiles came in from their post on the Thracian plain, amid the applauses of their fellow-citizens. Pelopidas, Mellon, and Charon were raised to the head of the government. The entire military force of Thebes rallied round them. The cavalry went out to drive back a body of troops coming to strengthen the Spartan garrison. The citadel was recovered, and the Thebans who had taken refuge among them were put to death. The news of this sudden revolution awoke the vengeance of the Spartans. Agesilaus, pleading his age as a ground of exemption, resigned to his brother Cleombrotus the command of an expedition to Thebes. Imitating the policy of his father Pausanias at Athens, Cleombrotus, after cutting off the liberated prisoners of Thebes who came to meet him, remained only sixteen days in the Theban territory, in a state of comparative repose, and leaving Sphodrias as Spartan governor at Thespiæ, a neighbouring city about twenty miles from Thebes, returned to Sparta.

220. The new government at Thebes was alarmed at the conduct of the Athenians, on whose support they had counted, but who now showed signs of a wish to be on good terms with the Spartans. In these circumstances, the Thebans bribed Sphodrias, the Spartan governor of Thespiæ, to make an attempt to surprise Piræus, where the restoration of the walls was not yet finished. On hearing of his approach, the Athenians rose to arms. Sphodrias being saved from punishment by the influence

of Agesilaus at Sparta, the Athenians were exasperated. They completed their fortifications at Piræus, hastened to prepare a new fleet, and entered into a confederacy with Thebes against the common enemy. This confederacy was soon joined by Chios and Byzantium, and then by Rhodes, Mitylene, and other maritime and insular states.

221. A new expedition against Thebes was now conducted by Agesilaus. He was successful only in "teaching the Thebans to conquer." Phœbidas, who had treacherously taken the Theban citadel in a time of peace, succeeded him; but he was slain at Thespiæ. The Spartan commander at Tanagra, was killed by Pelopidas. The Spartan army was put to flight in a pitched battle at Tegyra; Chabrias, the Athenian commander, defeated their navy, near the isle of Naxos. Timotheus, the son of Conon, and Iphicrates totally destroyed their fleet, and ravaged the coasts of Laconia, as well as the islands of Cephallenia, Leucadia, Zacynthus, and Corcyra.—Wearied with these harassing wars, both the Spartans and the Athenians, with most of their respective confederates, were induced by the Persians, who were seeking help against the Egyptians, to agree to a general peace. Into this peace the Thebans refused to enter. They could not submit to the Spartans; they felt themselves to be their equals. They razed to the earth the walls of Thespiæ, and then of Platæa, and banished the inhabitants.

222. These fugitives found refuge at Athens. Their tale of woe aroused the people there against their oppressors. The Athenians were still farther alienated from the Thebans by their invasion of Phocis; and they were increasingly disposed to form a lasting treaty of alliance with Sparta. For this purpose a convention of the states of Greece was summoned at Sparta. To that convention the Thebans sent Epaminondas to represent their interests. The Athenians sent Antocles and Callistratus, two of their ablest orators. Agesilaus represented Sparta. When the Athenian and the Spartan representatives had signed the treaty, in the terms of the peace of Antalcidas, Epaminondas rose and said: "The Athenians have signed this treaty for all the cities of Attica; the Spartans for all the Lacedæmonians and their allies in the provinces of the Peloponnesus; Thebes is entitled to the same prerogatives on behalf of her

dependent cities." Agesilaus asked him, "if it were the intention of Thebes to admit the independence of Bœotia?" "Is it the intention of Sparta," demanded Epaminondas, "to admit the independence of Laconia?" "Shall the Bœotians be free?" asked the king. To which Epaminondas firmly answered: "When *you* give freedom to the Lacedæmonians, Messenians, and the Peloponnesians, whom you keep in bondage under the name of allies!"—Then, turning to the representatives of the allies, he urged them to withhold their consent to a treaty for destroying the power of Thebes, their only protection from Spartan domination.

223. Though the deputies were awed by the power of Sparta, the words of Epaminondas were not forgotten. There was much in the state of Grecian parties to encourage Epaminondas in his bold resolution. The power of Sparta had been weakened: the splendour of her name was fading. The Thebans, on the contrary, had lately been rising both in civil and military strength. Having achieved their freedom, they had instituted a Sacred Band, consisting of tried men in the prime of life, commanded by Pelopidas, and engaged to defend each other unto death. Some months after the congress, the Spartans invaded Bœotia. The expedition, conducted by Cleombrotus, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. They assembled in the plain of Leuctra, surrounded by the mountains of Helicon, Cithæron, and Cynocephalæ, on the Bœotian frontier, about ten miles from Plataea, and the same distance from the sea. The Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas, took possession of the heights which overlooked the plain. On both sides there was considerable hesitation before an engagement was determined on. By the skilful tactics of Epaminondas, and the valour of Pelopidas and his Sacred Band, the Spartans were forced to yield; their king, pierced with many wounds, fell on the corpses of his defenders, and died soon after his removal from the field: thus the victory of Leuctra was won by the Thebans. The Spartans acknowledged their defeat by asking leave from the victors to bury their slain.

224. A herald was sent by the Thebans to announce their victory at Athens, and to arouse the Athenians to seize the opportunity of avenging their wrongs on Sparta.

The herald was treated coldly, and sent back with dishonour. Believing that Sparta had received a fatal blow, the Athenians invited the members of the Peloponnesian confederacy, together with the other states of Greece, to a congress in Athens, at which it was resolved that every town, small or great, should be alike independent; and oaths to this effect were taken by all the magistrates.—One of the earliest effects of the defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra was a revolution in favour of the popular party in Mantinea. They proceeded to rebuild their city, which the Spartans had forced them to destroy.

225. For many years, Greece was the theatre of civil feuds, fomented by the contending factions in each separate state, and of vexatious wars between one state and another. Phigalca, Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, Phlius, and Argos were the scenes of bloody contests, or furious massacres. The Arcadians, besides rebuilding Mantinea, determined to unite themselves in one body, and to found a new city, which was to be the centre of the general government. The city, which they named Megalopolis, or the great city, was situated on the banks of the Helisson, near the borders of Messenia; of large extent; and filled with a population drained from the neighbouring districts, and the older towns. The founders of this Arcadian metropolis were Lycomedes and Opoleas, of Mantinea, Timon and Proxenus, of Tegea, and others from different cantons of the largest territory in the Peloponnesus. While building their city, they were defended by Pammenes, a Theban officer, sent by Epaminondas, with a thousand chosen men. The undertaking was naturally viewed with jealousy by the Spartans, and by the friends of Sparta in Arcadia.

226. Not a few bitter contests arose from this feeling. Agesilaus, stung by his defeat at Leuctra, the restoration of Mantinea, and the new power arising in Arcadia, vindicated the Spartan name by a hostile incursion into that country. After taking one of their small towns, whose walls he rebuilt, he plundered the plain near Mantinea, and returned home. The Thebans, now joined by the Arcadians, invaded Laconia, with an army drawn from nearly all the northern states of Greece, excepting Athens, amounting to between fifty and seventy thousand men. This large force entered Laconia in four divisions, by different routes.

When they all met, they encamped at the entrance to the plain of Sparta, and startled the Spartans by destroying the villas in the neighbourhood of the city which they had believed, for ages, to be impregnable. Agesilaus armed six thousand of the Helotes, and received the help of a force consisting of about the same number from his allies.

227. By a successful ambuscade of five hundred young Spartans, the Theban squadrons were thrown into confusion in their advance upon the city. Epaminondas directed his march towards the south; and, after ravaging the vale of the Eurotas, destroying some towns, and making an unsuccessful attempt on the arsenal of Gythium, he proceeded to accomplish the real purpose with which he invaded Laconia. Gathering the outcasts of Messenia from their places of exile, he enabled them to found a new city, called Messene, close to the site of the ancient Ithome. Leaving a garrison in the new city, he returned to Thebes.—Both Epaminondas and Pelopidas were charged with a capital crime, in retaining their command beyond the legal period. Epaminondas recited his own actions, and declared himself willing to die, if Lenctra—Sparta—and Messene—might be engraven on his tomb. His magnanimity awed his enemies; and he was led, with his companion, from the place of trial, as from a field of glory. The Spartans were now closely leagued with the Athenians; the command, both by sea and land, being committed to each state in turn for five days. The Thebans invaded the Peloponnesus again in the following spring, but with little success. A new jealousy had arisen among their principal allies—the Arcadians, who now felt themselves too powerful a body to act only a subordinate part; and among whom the spirit of independence was ardently cherished by Lycomedes, the wealthy Mantinean, who had formed the scheme for the union and concentration of the Arcadian states.

228. An attempt was made at this time, by Persia, to bring about a general peace among all the Greeks, and a congress of deputies was held for that purpose at Delphi; but as the Thebans refused to renounce their sovereignty over the Boeotian cities, and the Spartans to recognise the independence of Messenia, the project fell to the ground. The influence of Thebes had, lately, been spreading in Thessaly. After the misery of long political divisions, the cities and

states of that fertile country had become united by the energy and ambition of Jason of Pheræ ; who stretched his dominion entirely across the north of Greece, from the Ægean to the Ionian sea. He had joined the Thebans after their victory over the Spartans at Leuctra ; and, by his mediation, had induced both parties to enter into terms of peace. While he was meditating large schemes of conquest in Greece and in Asia, he was stabbed by seven youths, at a review of the Pheræan cavalry ; and his projects perished with him. After his death, the history of Thessaly was a continued succession of disorders. He was succeeded by his brothers Polydore and Polyphion.

229. By the assassination of Polydore, Polyphion secured to himself the sole sovereignty : but he was cut off by Alexander—a monster, who ruled his people with such cruel tyranny, that they sought the help of Thebes to rid them of the oppression. A Theban army, led by Leopidas and Ismenias, subdued the tyrant, and forced him to accept the most humiliating conditions. But when, on a subsequent occasion, these Theban generals, returning home from Macedon, marched through the territories of their Thessalian allies, they were seized, by Alexander's orders, and thrown into prison. Epaminondas was serving as a volunteer in the army. When their leaders were imprisoned, the Theban soldiers appointed him their general. His efforts were so successful, that Alexander was compelled to restore his prisoners, on condition of a thirty days' truce.

230. The absence of the Thebans in Macedon and Thessaly afforded time for the Spartans to rally their strength in the south of Greece, and to renew their applications for help to Persia. To thwart these schemes, Pelopidas was sent by the Thebans to Artaxerxes. Ambassadors from Elis, Argos, Arcadia, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, all met—for the first time—to adjust their conflicting interests at the court of a foreign power. The Persian treated Pelopidas with more respect than any of the other ambassadors. He complied with the wishes of the Thebans for a Grecian alliance with Persia ; by which the Athenians were to lay up their ships ; the Spartans to declare Messenia independent ; and the inferior cities to be punished by the united forces, if they should refuse to join them. When Pelopidas returned with this treaty to Thebes, the states of Greece were summoned

to a congress. Neither Athens nor Sparta attended. The Arcadians were represented by Lycomedes, who disdained the alliance of the great king. The assembly broke up, without any of the states agreeing to the treaty. Equally unsuccessful were the proposals afterwards made by the Thebans to each separate state. Failing thus in the arts of negotiation, Epaminondas had recourse again to arms. A third time he invaded the Peloponnesus, and conquered Achaia, which skirted the northern limits of Elis and Arcadia; and he was thus enabled to chastise the Arcadians in the north, while the Spartans were harassing them in the south. The Athenians entered into an alliance with the Arcadians against Thebes.

231. The Corinthians obtained the consent of Sparta to their making peace with Thebes; and their example was followed by several of the smaller states, likewise in alliance with Sparta.—Sparta, thus alone in her weakness, resolved to perish rather than acknowledge the independence of Messenia, or submit to what they regarded as the arrogance of Thebes. It was favourable to this haughty and deserted people, that the state of affairs, both at Thebes and in the Peloponnesus, gave signs of approaching changes, which they might hope to turn to their own advantage. Thebes, Elis, and Arcadia, were involved in mutual disputes, which forbade their uniting in an attack upon Sparta. Thebes had likewise lost one of her great leaders—Pelopidas—who was slain, in the hour of victory, in an expedition against Alexander, the tyrant of Thessaly.

232. Epaminondas, bent on humbling the Peloponnesus, conducted thither a large army, including nearly the entire Theban confederacy, together with auxiliaries from the Eubœans, Locrians, and Thessalians. With the exception of Argos, Messenia, Tegea, and Megalopolis, the Peloponnesians prepared to resist him, and they were joined by the Athenians. Epaminondas chose Tegea for his head-quarters: while Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was on his way, at the head of his forces, to join his allies at Mantinea, Epaminondas marched by night towards Sparta, hoping to take it by surprise. But Agesilaus, informed by a deserter of this movement, either returned, or sent a message to Archidamus to be in a state of preparation for defence. Epaminondas was repulsed, and returned to Tegea. His

cavalry was also defeated by the Athenians. He resolved to strike a decisive blow, in the short time which the laws of his country allowed him for action; and he gave battle to the enemy at Mantinea. The Thebans gained the victory. But, in the heat of the battle, Epaminondas was wounded with a javelin; and the surgeons declared that he would die as soon as the weapon was drawn from his body. "Is my shield safe?" asked the dying general. It was presented to him; and he viewed it with a smile of melancholy satisfaction. When he learned that the Thebans had conquered, he declared himself ready to die;—the javelin was removed—and he expired. He was buried in the field of his last battle; and, four hundred years after, the inscription recording his exploits might still be read upon his tomb.

233. The character of Epaminondas is one of the brightest in the history of Greece. He was great as a philosopher—as a patriot—and as a soldier. He raised his country to the highest pitch of power and glory to which she ever reached. Yet we are not to be misled by the praises of the Greek and Roman writers, who ascribed to him all the perfections of human nature. Whatever views he might entertain of political right, and however self-denying his devotion to his country, it is difficult to shield his memory from the reproach of sacrificing, to the grandeur of Thebes, the peace, safety, and possessions of the other states of Greece.—Patriotism ceases to be a virtue when it tramples on the claims of justice and humanity. It is, probably, because men are prone to narrow their views and their affections within the limits of their own country, city, or family, and to overlook the righteous demands of other lands, cities, or families, that *patriotism* is never inculcated as a virtue by the religion of Jesus Christ. It seems to be the design of His religion rather to purify and enlarge the affections out of which genuine patriotism arises, and to regulate it by the sacred principles of truth, humanity, and universal charity. Every Christian will love his country because he is a Christian; and his religion will inspire him to do whatever is right for her welfare: he will remember, at the same time, that he belongs to the family of man; and he will cherish all those sentiments which interest him in what concerns the common welfare of the human race.

But such were not the lessons taught at Thebes, nor such the character formed by the philosophy, or the religion, of the Greeks.

234. The battle of Mantinea was the greatest ever fought in Greece. Great as it was, it was not immediately decisive in relation to the objects of the contending parties. Sparta lost all hope of recovering her ancient supremacy. Thebes, indeed, secured from the allies of Sparta the recognition of the independence of Messenia; but, in the death of Epaminondas, she saw an end to the prospect of the pre-eminence she sought. All were exhausted by the war. In the peace which followed, each republic retained its own possessions; but, as the Spartans kept back from every negotiation that did not restore Messenia to them, they were excluded from this arrangement. They had little fear that any of the rival states would be able to take the place from which Sparta had been cast down: "The sceptre, had indeed been wrested from her hands; but it had, at the same time, been broken in pieces."*

CHAPTER XXII.

REVIVAL OF ATHENS.

Some effects of the Peloponnesian war—Returning supremacy of Athens by sea—Features of the Athenian character—Cause of their degeneracy—Chares—Insurrection of the Grecian islands—Independence of the states—Conclusion of the war.

235. ATHENS rallied much more than any of the other Grecian states after the battle of Mantinea. We have seen Athens humbled by Sparta, in the Peloponnesian war; Thebes humbled, also, in the invasion of Bœotia by Sparta; and Sparta, at length, humbled by Thebes in the battle of Mantinea; and, after this last event, the general states of Greece, spurning the authority of any dominant city, assembled in the Amphictyonic Council, according to their ancient forms. To Athens was still left a wide scope for ambition, on the sea. Under the command of Chares,

Timotheus, and Iphicrates, (who survived both Epaminondas and Agesilaus,) the Athenian superiority was restored in Eubœa, and in several islands along the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, from the Bosphorus in the north to Rhodes in the south. Their friendship was sought by the people of Coreyra, and of the Cyclades, and of Byzantium. The greater part of the Athenians were employed in commerce, or in a navy of nearly three hundred ships. With returning prosperity Athens displayed, in greater force than ever, the profligacy of her people and the vices of her government. Private feuds; party rancour; hereditary hatred; the corruption of justice; extravagant delight in festivities provided at the public expense; general dissipation and sensuality among the rich; and extreme poverty among the poor—these were features in the condition of the Athenians which must not be lost sight of in the general brilliancy of their history.

236. Among the signs, and, in some degree, the causes, of Athenian degeneracy, may be mentioned the employment in war of mercenary troops and pirates, rather than their own citizens. This not only led to dangerous and unjust undertakings, but added to the general levity of the Athenian character, and lessened the dignity and earnestness of their public affairs. As, in former times, they had been made the instruments of bold and skilful leaders, such men were not now wanting. While Timotheus, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Phocion, preserved the ancient character of Athenian statesmen and generals, Chares, a man immeasurably inferior to them in all things but his recklessness and selfish ambition, became the idol of the people. By his influence, the Athenians were induced to supply their wants, whether for war or for pleasure, by the plunder of their colonies and allies. Provoked by this rapacity, the people of Chios, Coos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, declared war against Athens. Chares was sent, at the head of a strong armament, to subdue them. At Chios, they were repelled; and Chabrias lost his life. The Chians, encouraged by their success, attacked the cities of Lemnos and Samos. By laying siege to Byzantium, the Athenians drew the Chians from their islands. A storm arising, when the hostile forces were near each other, Timotheus and Iphicrates refused to venture on a desperate engagement

which was urged by Chares. Chares accused them of cowardice, at Athens; and, his charge being supported by orators in his pay, these illustrious commanders were sentenced to pay each a fine so heavy that it was impossible to raise it. Timotheus retired to Chalcis in Eubœa, and then to Lesbos; and Iphicrates to Thrace: neither of them was afterwards employed in the public service of their country. Chares, having thus got rid of the men who acted as a check on his avarice and folly, neglected the interests, and spent the treasures, of Athens in the gratification of his own passions. To raise money for his troops, he entered into the service of Artabazus, the satrap of Ionia; but Ochus, the Persian monarch, against whom Artabazus had revolted with the help of the Athenians, sent an embassy to Athens, complaining of their violation of the peace between Greece and Persia; demanding the removal of their forces from Asia; and threatening, if they refused this, to aid the insurgents against Athens with a fleet of three hundred ships. Alarmed by this threat, and unsuccessful in their attempts to quell the revolted states, the Athenians were compelled to bring the war to an end; and the states which had united for their independence gained their object.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SACRED WAR.

Treasury of Apollo—Its guardians—Proceedings of the Amphictyonic Council—Phylomelus—Siege of Delphi—Close of the war.

237. THE treasury of Apollo at Delphi was regarded by the Greeks as sacred. The Amphictyonic Council were its guardians. During the sway of the states that took the lead in the public affairs of Greece, this venerable Council had been reduced to little more than a shadow; but when the power of those states was broken, the Council revived, and proceeded to exercise its authority, as of old, yet, generally, under the influence of Thebes. They had condemned Sparta to pay a large fine, as a punishment,

nominally, for the seizure of the Theban citadel ; but, in all probability, this was done rather to humble Sparta for refusing to acknowledge the independence of Messenia. The next proceeding of the Amphictyons was to call the Phocians to account for cultivating part of the plain which the Council had formerly declared sacred to Apollo.

238. For this offence the Phocians were sentenced to a heavy penalty. As the Phocians took no notice of this sentence, it was decreed that their whole territory should be forfeited to Apollo. Thus threatened, the Phocians elected Philomelus as leader of their forces in their own defence. Philomelus was a bold counsellor : he urged his countrymen to maintain their ancient privileges by taking possession of Delphi, and by their influence over the oracle to reverse the decree of the Amphictyons. He repaired to Sparta, and secured the secret support of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, king of Sparta. He then marched to Delphi, cut off the Thracidæ, or ruling families who guarded the oracle ; but assured the inhabitants of Delphi that he had no hostile intentions towards them, or the sacred temple. The Locrians of Amphissa rushed to the rescue of Delphi ; but they were defeated by Philomelus. The conqueror then destroyed the brazen tablets which recorded the decree against the Phocians ; invaded the Locrian territory ; forced the Pythia to give an oracle in his favour ; and sent envoys to the principal states, to justify his proceedings.

239. Both the Locrians and the Phocians sent embassies to Thebes. The Thebans dismissed the Phocians with indignation, and joined the Locrians. Nearly the whole of Thessaly, and northern Greece generally, united with the Locrians and Thebans against Philomelus. Athens, weakened by the war with the revolted confederates ; and Sparta, contending against Messene and Megalopolis ; were little inclined, and less able, to give their succour. Philomelus then avowed that he would use the sacred treasures of Delphi to reward all that would enter his service. Lured by the tempting prospects, adventurers from every part of Greece flocked to his aid. With recruited forces he defeated the Locrians, Thessalians, and Thebans ; and, on the arrival of fresh enemies, he stood on his defence. The Thebans massacred all the prisoners. Philomelus retaliated, by a similar massacre of the prisoners taken by his army.

But when both armies met near Neon, beneath a precipice in one of the craggy valleys of Parnassus, the Phocians were overpowered by superior numbers. Philomelus died, fighting in the thickest of the battle. The Thebans returned home, to watch the effect of this defeat and loss upon the Phocians. The place of Philomelus was taken by his brother Onomachus. While he was pursuing his conquests, the king of Macedon entered on the scene; and, after a series of engagements which belong to the general history of the times, he brought the war to a close, at a season, and in a manner, which suited the views of his own ambition.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

Origin of the Macedonian monarchy—Perdiccas—Archelaus ascends the throne of Persia—Murdered—Succeeded by Orestes—Aeropus—Pausanias—Amyntas the Second—Succeeded by Alexander—Murdered—Ptolemy—Philip—Invades Illyria—Siege of Amphipolis—Foundation of Philippi—Philip attempts to pass Thermopylæ—Demosthenes—Attempt at war with Persia—Progress of the designs of Philip—Gains possession of Olynthus—Celebrated by a festival—Æschines—The termination of the Sacred War—Philip establishes his footing in Greece—Meditates the invasion of Persia—Celebration of the Pythian Games—Philip establishes his power in the Peloponnesus—Speech of Demosthenes—Advantages gained by Philip during the Sacred War—Embassy to Hegesippus—Philip's hostile aggressions—Siege of Selymbria—Phocion—His exploits—Philip at war with Scythia—Battle of Chæronæa—Events in the domestic history of Philip—Murder of Philip—Estimate of his character—Immorality of the Greek States—Claims of religion and morality upon mankind.

240. THE foundations of the Macedonian monarchy were laid by an Hellenic colony from Argos. At the time of the Persian invasion of Greece, the kings of Macedonia were tributaries to Persia; but they were delivered from that yoke by the victories of the Greeks. After the retreat of the Persians, Macedonia was exposed to the attacks of the Thracians by land, and of the Athenians by sea.—In the reign of Perdiccas the Second, Athens supported the claims of his brother Philip against him, and took possession of several of his fortified towns; in which they placed Grecian colonists. At the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, Perdiccas at first joined with Sparta; but afterwards he concluded a peace with Athens. Archelaus, said to

be an illegitimate son of Perdiccas, ascended the throne by violent crimes. His reign was distinguished by the continuance of peace for fourteen years : at the end of which he was murdered by a conspiracy in his own court. His son, Orestes, after reigning four years, was murdered by his guardian Acropus, who usurped the throne. Acropus was succeeded by his son Pausanias. Pausanias was assassinated by Amyntas the Second, who has been formerly mentioned. Amyntas was closely allied with Sparta ; but towards the end of his reign, when Athens and Sparta were united in opposition to Thebes, he cultivated the friendship of the Athenians. He left three sons : Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander succeeded his father ; but he was murdered in the second year of his reign, by the friends of Ptolemy of Alorus, who assumed the regency of Macedonia. Perdiccas the third killed Ptolemy, and reigned for five years. He was slain in a war with the Illyrians. He left an infant son, named Amyntas, who came under the charge of his father's youngest surviving brother Philip, now twenty-three years of age. Some years before, Philip had been taken by Pelopidas, as one of the hostages delivered to him by Perdiccas, to Thebes.

241. While at Thebes, Philip enjoyed the opportunity of adorning his mind with philosophy, cultivating the Greek language, and, more than all, of studying politics and the military art, and making himself thoroughly familiar with the character, institutions, and parties, of the Grecian states. He became remarkable for his bodily vigour, and mental energy ; a noble aspect, and a polished eloquence ; an affable and generous condescension ; and a will of unyielding energy, and the loftiest ambition. The vices which stained his character were such as would have exposed a man of less activity and sagacity to contempt. His reign, which lasted twenty-four years, is regarded by the ablest judges as one of the most instructive in history, both for the depth of wisdom with which he laid his schemes, and the firmness and coolness with which he brought them to perfection. At the beginning of his regency, there were two pretenders to the Macedonian throne, Argæus, supported by Athens ; and Pausanias, supported by Thrace. The western provinces of the kingdom were harassed by the Illyrians, and the Pæonians were plundering the north. In the midst of these

difficulties, the hopes of the nation rested on Philip. He induced the Pæonians, by gifts and promises, to withdraw their army. In like manner, he withdrew the support of the Thracian power from Pausanias. He defeated Argæus, who had invaded his kingdom. He wrote friendly letters to the Athenians, and secured peace with them. He invaded Illyria; compelled the Illyrians to accept his own terms of peace; and, by recovering from them all the Macedonian territory which they had formerly conquered, secured a passage, at his pleasure, to the shores of the Adriatic.

242. These brilliant exploits secured the consent of the Macedonians to Philip's usurpation of his nephew's throne. By the introduction of the famed *Macedonian phalanx*, as well as by the improved organization and discipline of his forces, he raised his army to a state of efficiency before unknown in Macedonia. He trained in the royal household the sons of the noblest families, who were thus introduced to posts of honour in the army and in the state. By keeping up a standing army, which gradually increased, he exercised the authority of a military despotism, under the ancient form of a free government. The man who, at the age of twenty-four, had done so much in the space of little more than one year, was not likely to look with indifference on the affairs of Greece. Amphipolis had been looked on by the Athenians with a longing eye. Its nearness to the mountains bordering the Strymon, which were clothed with forests, opened an inexhaustible supply of timber for ships. Philip was equally anxious for the possession of that city. He made known his intention of subduing it by force. The Olynthians, eager to repel this attempt, applied to Athens for assistance; but, to their surprise, they found that there was a secret treaty between Philip and the Athenians, in which Philip made some conditional promise to yield Amphipolis to the Athenians. The next step was to buy off the opposition of the Olynthians. After this, Philip laid siege to Amphipolis, and took it. But the Athenians were disappointed in their hopes, and from this time treated Philip as an open enemy. To prevent the Olynthians joining the Athenians, Philip put them in possession of Potidæa. It is related by Plutarch, that, just after the capture of Potidæa, Philip received intelligence that his chariot had won a prize at the Olympic Games; that his general Parmenio had gained

a victory over the Illyrians; and, at the same time, he was informed of the birth of his son Alexander. His next undertaking was to secure from the Thasians the district which contained the gold and silver mines of Pangæus, bordering on the left bank of the river Strymon. He planted there a colony of Macedonians, who enlarged the Thasian settlement at Crenides into a large city, to which he gave the name of Philippi. By the possession of these mines, he acquired the command of great wealth; and from Philippi, as a military station, he made good his ground for extensive conquests on the north of the Ægean. The opportunity for interposing in the general affairs of Greece was afforded to Philip by the Sacred War, mentioned in the last chapter. By reducing the Phocians, he became the head of the Amphictyonic Council. The great increase of money from the treasures of Delphi and Macedonia had increased the corruption of the Greeks, and enabled Philip to support parties favourable to his interests in all the states. In Thessaly, he counteracted the influence of Onomarchus by his intrigues; and he secured the dominion over that country by his arms.

243. By attempting to enter Greece through the pass of Thermopylæ, under the pretence of asserting the injured rights of the temple of Delphi, Philip awoke the Athenians to the conviction that his real aim was the conquest of the country, and they aroused themselves to somewhat of their ancient energy; they placed a guard at Thermopylæ, and held an assembly to deliberate on measures for resisting the progress of his ambition. The views of the Athenians were divided. Isocrates and Phocion were distrustful of their fellow-citizens, if war were to be waged with Philip; and they exhorted them to gain his friendship by peace, and to appoint him the leader of a grand expedition against the Persian power. The partisans of Philip, at the same time, dwelt on the preparations in progress by the Persian monarch, to revenge the injuries inflicted by the Athenians, under Chares, on the Asiatic coast. But as the preparations of the Persian were seen to be directed against his rebellious subjects, the late attempt of Philip on Thermopylæ appeared to call for union and vigour in resisting his encroachments.

244. It was the effort made to rouse the Athenians to

self-reliance and exertion, in opposition to Philip, that first called forth the eloquence of *Demosthenes*. This greatest of orators was son of a rich Athenian sword-cutler of the same name, who, at his death, left a widow, this one son, and a younger daughter, in the charge of a guardian, who neglected or betrayed the trust, and reduced the large resources of the family to a very inadequate income. As *Demosthenes* grew up, with a feeble frame which unfitted him for the hardy exercises of the Athenian youth, and for military duty, he resolved to bring his guardian to account; and, to prepare himself by the study of eloquence to overcome the formidable obstacles which lay before him, he sought the instructions of *Isæus*, a distinguished public pleader. His action against his guardian was successful, and he recovered a portion of his property. His success in pleading his own cause encouraged him to use his best efforts to overcome every imperfection, until he acquired the highest rank of oratory in the Athenian assembly, while he made himself master of the financial and political condition of the state, which enabled him to take the lead in the public councils of his country. The great aim of his life was to maintain the independence of Greece; and, with a view to this, he laid himself out to arouse the Athenians from their supineness, and to inspire them with ardour, prudence, and perseverance in the defence of their country. When the question respecting war with Persia came before the assembly, he addressed them in a calm and practical oration, urging the necessity of being prepared for attack, and offering the details of a plan for that purpose. The proposal of war with Persia was rejected.

245. The designs of Philip were slowly opened. A long period of inactivity lulled the fears of the Athenians. But during this seeming repose, the Macedonian was strengthening himself at home, sheltering the rebellious subjects of Persia, watching his interests in Thessaly, and preparing for a war with Olynthus. As soon as he commenced his aggressions on Thrace, and in the neighbourhood of Olynthus, the Olynthians sought the alliance of the Athenians.

246. It was in support of this alliance that the *Olynthiacs* of *Demosthenes* were delivered. The help afforded by Athens to Olynthus was only feeble. The exhortations of *Demos-*

thenes to greater activity were unheeded. At length the Athenians were made to see their danger, and Demosthenes prevailed on them to send a considerable force. But it was in vain. Philip gained possession of Olynthus by the treachery of two of her defenders. He levelled the city—sold the inhabitants for slaves—divided their lands among his officers—and converted the entire territory, including the three Chalcidian peninsulas, into a Macedonian province. The triumph for the conquest of Olynthus was celebrated by a festival resembling the Olympic Games, during which Philip delighted men from all parts of Greece by the liberality of his entertainment, as well as by the freedom of his manners, and the pleasures of his court.

247. While the Greeks continued insensible to their danger from the growing power of Philip, that prince himself was more disposed to conciliate than to repel them. His ambition was to extend his conquests in the east; but this was impracticable, so long as he had not the command of the Hellespont, or was likely to be disturbed in Macedonia by the Greeks. He considered himself to be a Greek; his respect for the character, genius, and power of that people was exalted; and he was not in haste to provoke the descendants of the heroes of Marathon.—After the fall of Olynthus, the Athenians were disposed to follow the advice of Demosthenes, by sending embassies throughout Greece to stir up the states against Philip. Æschines—best known as the rival of Demosthenes—was sent to Megalopolis, to rouse the Arcadians. There is no proof on record, that any of these appeals were successful. It was, therefore, with not less joy than surprise, that the Athenians were informed that Philip was desirous of being at peace with them. They had many reasons for desiring peace, if they could be sure of Philip's sincerity. Ten ambassadors were appointed to treat with him, and to request that he would, in like manner, send ambassadors with full power to Athens. They were graciously received, and returned with a letter to the Athenian people, and a promise that the embassy requested should soon follow them.

248. On the arrival of the Macedonian ministers—Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus, they were entertained, with public splendour, by Demosthenes. After some debates, peace and alliance with Philip were decreed

by the Athenian assembly, and the same ambassadors as before were sent to Philip, to receive from him and his allies the ratification of the treaty. On their arrival at Pella, Philip's capital, they had to wait nearly a month for his return from Thrace. When Philip returned, he found envoys at his court, not only from Athens, but from Thessaly, Thebes, Sparta, and Phocis. One subject appeared to occupy the thoughts of all Greece—the termination of the Sacred War. As Philip had resolved on invading Phocis, he required that Phocis should be left out of the treaty, which was then signed by him, at an inn at Pheræ, in Thessaly.

249. When the ambassadors returned to Athens, it was agreed that the peace and alliance with Philip should extend to his successors, and that Athens would lend her aid in forcing the Phocians to render up the defence of Delphi to the Amphictyons. Another embassy was chosen to carry this decree to Philip, and to attend the meeting of the Amphictyonic council. Philip took possession of Delphi, and called the council together to pronounce judgment on those who had committed the sacrilege which occasioned the Sacred War. The name of Phocis was omitted from the list of Grecian states;—the leaders in the spoliation of the temple, who had fled, were to be brought to justice;—the Phocian cities, with the exception of Abæ, which had stood out against the rest, were to be destroyed, and the inhabitants dispersed;—they were sentenced to pay sixty talents a year to the temple, till the amount of the plundered treasure should be restored;—they were not allowed the use of arms, or of horses;—they were to have no access to the temple;—they were to lose their seat in the Amphictyonic council; and their two votes were to be transferred to Philip and his successors on the throne of Macedonia.

250. Philip thus acquired the footing in Greece which he had so long desired; and which he valued chiefly as affording him the prospect of attacking Persia in the name of Greece. The sentence against the Phocians was soon executed; and Philip returned to Macedonia. Thebes recovered the places she had lost in Boeotia. The Thessalians were revenged. But, in Athens, there was general disappointment; and the hatred towards Philip in that city was

increased by the presence of exiles from Phocis and Boeotia. The peace so recently concluded with their dreaded enemy became unpopular; and Demosthenes, who had foretold and opposed the designs of Philip, rose high in favour with the people. Shortly after the close of the war, by the destruction of Phocis, the Pythian games were celebrated, and Philip, by his deputies, presided, according to the decree of the Amphictyonic Council. The Athenians declined to send their usual representatives to the solemnity. About the same time, the formal sanction of the Athenians to the decree which admitted Philip to the Amphictyonic league was demanded by an embassy composed of envoys from Macedonia, Thessaly, and Boeotia. This demand the Athenians, generally, were inclined to refuse. But the calm and judicious arguments of Demosthenes led them to comply; and thus the peace was preserved.

251. Philip was still pursuing his interests in the Peloponnesus. He took the Thebans under his protection; declared himself the friend of Messene; claimed from Sparta the renunciation of her claims on that city; and won to himself the confidence and esteem of Megalopolis and Argos, as the friend of the oppressed. Statues and crowns were decreed to him by both the Argives and the Arcadians. At Athens, these proceedings awakened deep anxiety. Unsuccessful attempts were made to counteract the influence of Philip in the Peloponnesus. To defend his character from the attacks made upon it, Philip sent Python, a man of extraordinary eloquence, from Byzantium:—he was instructed, with other ambassadors who accompanied him, to deny that Philip had been guilty of any perfidy towards the Athenians, and to remonstrate with them on the false accusations which they had entertained against him in their public assemblies. The arguments of Python were supported by Æschines. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered one of his great orations—the second Philippic—in which he laboured to excite the resentment of his countrymen both against Philip, and against the Athenian orators who had lent themselves to his service.—We have no record of the effects of this address; but it appears to have provoked the hostility of Philip, who was engaged at the time against the Illyrians.

252. Among the advantages gained by Philip during the

Sacred War, was the possession of Nicæa, one of the towns that guarded the approach to Thermopylæ, and which the Thebans were anxious to secure. But, contrary to their expectations, Philip yielded it to the Thessalians—whom he had rescued from the tyranny of the house of Pheræa—leaving in it a Macedonian garrison, and, in fact, assuming the entire government of the country. While thus occupied, he cast his eyes on Megara, the rocky coast which lay between Bœotia and the Saronic gulf, affording him an easy passage to the Peloponnesus, where he was using every act to increase his influence. But the promptitude of the Athenians defeated his plans. Disappointed on the eastern side of Greece, he directed his thoughts to Epirus, where he took some towns inhabited by Greek colonists; and then marched to Ambracia, in the hope of establishing his power in Acarnania and in Ætolia, and securing access to the Peloponnesus in the *west*; where he had already gained the ascendancy, at Elis. But these hopes were frustrated by the Athenians. Demosthenes, with other eminent citizens, was sent into Peloponnesus and Acarnania with a view to form a league against Philip; and they returned with promises of help from several of the states. Philip abandoned his project for the present.

253. A new embassy, headed by Hegesippus, who belonged to the party opposed to Philip, was sent to Macedonia. Various causes of complaint led to this embassy. They were received by Philip with great displeasure; and he sent an embassy in return, with a letter to the Athenians. This letter received its answer by a decree which gave little hopes of the long continuance of peace. Philip was, at the same time, raising arsenals, and building ships, in the sea-ports which he had lately added to his kingdom. He made himself master of the centre of Thrace, in which he planted three separate colonies, at no great distance from Byzantium. Byzantium, and other Greek cities on the coast, were naturally alarmed at the obvious designs of Philip. The Athenians saw that their own existence as a naval and commercial people was threatened. Demosthenes seized the occasion to show that Philip's aim was the destruction of Athens—to urge the Athenians to set to other states an example of earnest struggle—to unite all the Greeks against Philip—and to procure assistance from the Persian king.

who was concerned equally with the Greeks in checking the growing power of Macedonia. An embassy from Philip to Athens, occasioned by these movements, was sent to counteract the effect of a discourse which he is said to have read with admiration, yet with terror. But he proceeded with his hostile aggressions in the east. He laid siege to Selymbria, on the Propontis, between Perinthus and Byzantium, and in alliance with both those cities. During this siege, his admiral brought into a Macedonian harbour an Athenian squadron of twenty ships, commanded by Laomedon, conveying corn from the Hellespont, professedly to Lesbos, but with the real purpose of relieving the besieged in Selymbria. Messengers were sent from Athens to Macedonia to inquire into the conduct of Laomedon, and to demand from Philip satisfaction for the capture of their vessels. Philip replied, in a letter, that they must be very simple, if they thought he was not aware of the real object of the ships; that he would restore the ships; and do his part to maintain the treaty of peace between him and them, if the Athenians would punish the evil counsellors, at whose instigation Laomedon had acted contrary to public orders.

254. Having conquered Selymbria, Philip proceeded to besiege Perinthus, situated in the form of an amphitheatre, on the brow of an isthmus, and strongly defended. The citizens resisted him with firmness; and as they were supported by an Athenian squadron, supplied with men and stores from Byzantium, and aided by the Persian satraps on the western coast of Asia with troops, provisions, and money, Philip left part of his army to carry on the siege, and marched with the remainder to Byzantium. This city, washed on three sides by the sea, was fortified on the land by a deep trench, and a strong wall, with numerous high towers. Confiding in the strength of their position, and in the abundance of their stores, the Byzantians refused to buy their safety by alliance with Philip, and bade defiance to his power. Meanwhile, the Athenians had gained strength at Megara, and in Eubœa; and Philip, perceiving that the nominal peace could not long be maintained, sent a letter to Athens, complaining of many of their proceedings, and declaring his purpose of settling their disputes by force.

255. Demosthenes persuaded the Athenians to take Philip at his word. The pillar on which the treaty with

Philip was inscribed was pulled down, a fleet equipped, and every preparation made for war. Demosthenes himself secured the alliance of the Byzantians; but Chares, whom they hated, being chosen, through the influence of faction, to command the expedition for their relief, they refused to admit him to their harbour. Phocion was then appointed. On reaching Byzantium, one of the citizens, Cleon, an old friend of Phocion, at Athens, introduced him favourably to the people. Philip was obliged to abandon his designs both on Byzantium and on Perinthus, to withdraw his army, and to leave to the Athenians the northern side of the Propontis. Phocion, sailing from Byzantium full of honours, took many of the Macedonian ships, recovered several places in the Thracian coast which had been forced to submit to Philip, and took measures for the future protection of the Athenian allies. That he might not burden these allies with the expenses of this expedition, he commanded, in person, foraging parties in the dominions of Philip, in one of which he was dangerously wounded. The people of Perinthus and Byzantium expressed their thankfulness to Phocion and to the Athenians, by raising three lofty statues in Byzantium, on which they were represented as crowning the Athenian republic; and by proclaiming this act at the four great festivals of Greece. The people of the Chersonesus presented to Athens a golden crown, and dedicated an altar to Gratitude and Athens. Demosthenes, who had planned the expedition which redounded so greatly to the honour of his country, referred to the exploit of Phocion, many years after, with honest exultation: "You have frequently, Athenians, crowned your statesmen; but name, if you can, any other, by whom the state itself has been thus honoured."

256. Philip, thus foiled at Byzantium, undertook a war with the barbarians of Scythia, in which, marching across the Danube, he defeated the enemy, and carried away immense spoils, of which he was plundered on his return through the mountains of Moesia. On his arrival in Macedonia, he found deputies from the Amphictyonic Council, appointing him commander of their forces, and urging him to march without delay into Greece.—At the meeting of the Council, the Athenians had dedicated to Apollo some golden shields, inscribed, "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against Greece."

257. The suspending of these shields in the temple provoked the Thebans, who complained to the Council that the Athenians were guilty of impiety in not regularly consecrating their gift. *Æschines* rose to defend his countrymen, but was interrupted by the Amphissians, who called on the assembly not to hear the name of Athens, a city convicted of profanity by abetting the sacrilege of the Phocians. The Amphissians, living eight miles from Delphi, had themselves cultivated the plain of *Cirrha*, which, three hundred years before, was doomed by the Amphictyons to perpetual sterility. Pointing to this plain, the Athenian orator read the oracle of *Apollo*, which the Amphissians had despised, and directed the thoughts of his hearers from the question of the golden shields to the impiety of the Amphissians. It was resolved that they should proceed next day to destroy the buildings and plantations on the devoted plain. Having executed this purpose, they were attacked on their return by a party of Amphissians, who took several of them prisoners, and drove the rest to Delphi.

258. It was to revenge the insult thus offered to religion, to the dignity of the Amphictyons, and to the honour of their several republics, that the call we have mentioned was made to Philip. Diverting the attention of the Athenian navy by a successful stratagem, he landed on the Locrian coast, marched to Delphi, and sent to the Thebans, the Peloponnesians, and other states, requiring them to join his standard in defence of the Amphictyons and of *Apollo*.—The Spartans preserved their sullen neutrality. The Athenians, despising the threats of the oracle, raised ten thousand mercenaries to oppose Philip. But Philip having taken Amphissa, and planted there a Macedonian garrison, routed the Athenian mercenaries, and filled the country with the terror of his power. The Athenians then formed a league with *Megara*, *Leucas*, *Corinth*, *Achaia*, and the islands of *Corcyra* and *Eubœa*, against the barbarian who, under the pretence of religion, was aiming at the subjugation of Greece. The Thebans, who, while they dreaded the tyranny of Philip, were jealous of the rivalry of Athens, hesitated between the two parties. As their territory lay between *Philippi* and *Attica*, the king employed his intrigues to work upon their fears, and the Athenians their eloquence

to excite their patriotism. The Athenians prevailed. Their army was received within the walls of Thebes.

259. Philip, after being foiled in two battles by the confederates, proceeded with his main force to the plain of Chæronea, which separated Phocis from Bœotia, and near to the defile which led by Parnassus to Delphi. The morning sun arose on the two armies met to decide the liberties of Greece. The Athenians had no Pericles, the Thebans no Epaminondas. The sacred band of Thebes fell on the spot whereon they fought. Philip gained the battle; broke the confederacy; and deprived Greece for ever of the last hope of freedom.—Demosthenes pronounced at Athens a funeral oration over his fallen countrymen at Chæronea. Thebes lost her power and her liberty, and was forced to receive into her citadel a Macedonian garrison.—The Athenians were differently treated. Both the inclination and the policy of Philip prompted him to act towards them with at least the appearance of magnanimity. He sent home such of them as were taken prisoners in the battle, without demanding a ransom; and offered peace on terms which were flattering to their feelings; and left them an enlargement of territory at home, together with the possession of Chersonesus, Lemnos, Imbros, and Samos. The terms were gladly accepted at Athens.—All the Grecian states, except Sparta, met in congress at Corinth, where Philip was chosen as the commander of the Greek forces against Persia. Sparta was at length humbled into submission. The western states of Greece, Ambracia and Acarnania, were quelled. And Byzantium was obliged to accept the forced alliance of the conqueror.

260. The glory of Philip, now in its meridian, was darkened by the miserable events which arose in his domestic history. His wife Olympias, the mother of Alexander, a woman of strong passions, together with her son, quitted his kingdom in consequence of the bitter offence given to them by Philip's marriage with Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, one of his generals, soon after his return from the conquest of Greece. Philip had a daughter by Olympias, named also Cleopatra; and the brother of Olympias was king of Epirus. Philip resolved to give this daughter in marriage to the king of Epirus.

261. As the time drew near for the expedition against

Persia, Philip prepared to celebrate the marriage of his daughter in the ancient city of *Ægæ*. Most of the Grecian cities sent ambassadors to the solemnity, with crowns of gold for Philip. Images of the Olympian gods, and of the king himself, were carried in a solemn procession from the theatre to the palace: Philip then appeared, in white robes, and crowned with a festal wreath, followed at a short distance, by his son, and the bridegroom, but unattended by his guards. A young man named Pausanias, rushing suddenly from the crowd, stabbed Philip to death with a Celtic sword. The assassin was cut down by some officers of the guards. Suspicions were entertained that Olympias and Alexander were his secret accomplices.

262. Philip was murdered at the age of forty-seven, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. The history of his life is imperfect; and it is not easy to form a just opinion of his character. His courage, sagacity, self-possession, eloquence, perseverance, and energy, are beyond all doubt; but his private vices and public crimes were such as to add his name to the many examples afforded in this history, of men who were great in power and glory, without being either good or happy. He was evidently raised up by Divine Providence to chastise the proud and selfish Greeks in Europe; and to prepare the way for the humiliation of the Persian empire by his more illustrious son. His conquest of Greece is the first great revolution in national affairs of which history has preserved any account; and it is the first example of the power secured by a standing army.

263. One can scarcely see, without a feeling of sorrow, the national subjection of the wonderful people whose history we have been tracing. That states so jealous of their freedom as to be continually at war among themselves to check the superiority of any over others, should be brought to submit, all alike and equally, to one bold adventurer, is a fact which shows us how precarious is the tenure by which men hold their most precious rights. One great cause of this mournful change, appears to lie in the want of personal morality in all the Greek states, and pre-eminently in Athens. Though they could be excited to martial deeds, to strenuous efforts, and to splendid undertakings, the private habits of the great mass of the people, are described,

by those who knew them best, as idle, dissipated, sensual, litigious, and haughty; proud of their own particular cities, and jealous of their petty liberties; but wanting in those solid virtues, and incapable of that benevolent, or even just, humanity, which are the true foundations of the greatness of a people. Brave as they were, and cunning, they fell before the arms of an experienced warrior, and the arts of a practised politician, who had measured their strength. In the circumstances in which Philip stood, and with the means at his command, it was not to be wondered at that he should aspire to be their master; and not less natural, in the existing state of the Grecian republics, weakened by their mutual hostility, that he should succeed.

264. There is little to excite our wonder, when the connexions of events are seen. The lessons of war and of policy have been often drawn from the portion of history now before us: and it abounds with scenes that will long continue to refresh the genius of the painter and the poet. Is it not equally fruitful in the instructions which belong to morals and religion? It teaches us that, under the pretence of piety, the basest motives may be working, and the most mischievous crimes committed. Are the Amphictyons—the Amphissians—Philip of Macedon, alone in this? Religion demands sincerity, good faith, forbearance, mercy. The crusaders of the middle ages, and the persecutors and bigots of all ages, have no better plea for their fanatical cruelties than the Greeks had for their Sacred War.

265. This history teaches us, further, that freedom is a blessing only to the wise and the just. While no man has a right to trench on the freedom of another until his own is put in danger by that other—and this rule applies to nations as much as to private persons—all history shows that men have invariably abused their power, even under forms of government which placed the lightest yoke upon their will. To say nothing of the slavery which existed in all the states of Greece, and under all governments until the most recent times, we have seen how heavily the weak were oppressed by the strong, the poor by the rich, or the few by the many. To promote practical wisdom, conscientiousness, and kindness, is to do our best for freedom. We know of no means of doing this so simply, so safely, and so successfully for all, as by the encouragement of religion. For its own sake, in-

deed, will the religion which brings peace, holiness, and joy, be sought and spread by those who know and love the truth; but it is no small evidence that this truth is really from God, and deserves all our confidence and zeal, when we see how degraded the noblest of our fellow-men have been without it; and to what heights of personal worth and social power it can raise the lowest of our race. Neither history nor Scripture can be fairly quoted to support the maxims of the tyrannical, or the servility of the base; but neither has the one been studied with attention, nor the other with reverence, by those who imagine that they can separate the securities of freedom from the convictions and habits of religion. The world is governed by the laws of God. In no other way, than in conformity with those laws, can men be happy, either separately, or in communities. Revelation shows us the one path by which we can come to God, so as to enjoy peace with him; and when, by believing his declarations, and trusting the promises of the gospel, we come to him in that path, we are prepared to act aright our part in this world, which none in any age or country act, except in the degree in which they are influenced by the principles of the gospel. The history before us shows this plainly enough. All are liable to the same errors, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life." We may not have pleasures continually tempting the appetite and the imagination as the Greeks had, but we have the same elements of human nature in us. And the indulgence of inclination, without the restraints of religion, weakens the moral strength of the character. By cultivating individually the love of truth, sobriety, and chastity, integrity and forbearance, the arts of honourable industry, and the spirit of Christian self-denial and benevolence, all may assist in securing the freedom of our country; and a country made free by these means is happier and more truly glorious than Greece ever was in her most palmy days.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

His early youth—Exploits—Execution of the murderers of Philip—Alexander celebrates his father's memory—Expeditions of Alexander—Insurrections in Illyria — Revolt of Thebes — Proposal of peace—Story by Plutarch — Return of Alexander to Macedonia—Celebration of it—His schemes for conquest in the east.

266. THE early youth of Alexander was more influenced by the spirit of Olympias than by the counsels of Philip. His boyhood displayed the qualities which ripened in the man. One of his teachers, Leonidas, trained him in the hardy habits of the soldier; and another, Lysimachus, fanned in him the ambition of a conqueror, by leading him to meditate on the deeds of Achilles, from whom he was said to have descended; the most accomplished teachers in Greece instructed him in poetry and music; while Aristotle directed his studies in medicine, history, philosophy, and politics: the most eminent of teachers thus meeting with the most illustrious of pupils. His military education, as we may readily suppose, engaged the care of his father. Philip is said by Plutarch to have wept for joy when he saw his son master the horse Bucephalus, which afterwards bore him in so many conquests, and which none, before the royal youth, had ventured to mount. During his father's absence in Thrace, he astonished and alarmed the Persian ambassadors by his spirit and sagacity, when, at the age of twelve or sixteen, he questioned them on the nature of their government, their modes of warfare, the character of their sovereign, the situation of his capital, and the state of the roads in his dominions. During the same absence of his father, he acted as the regent of the kingdom, repelled an invasion of the Illyrians from the borders; and planted a colony, to which he gave his own name, in their chief city. He accompanied his father in the Scythian war; and on one occasion saved his life. At the age of nineteen, he commanded the left wing of Philip's victorious army against the sacred band of Thebes, in the memorable battle of Chæronea. Thus prepared, by native genius, by instruction, and more experience than falls to the lot of many sove-

reigns in their ripest years, Alexander ascended his father's throne, at the age of twenty. His situation was one of great and various difficulties. The policy of Philip had been so secret, that his successor was left in the midst of these difficulties to judge, and to act, entirely for himself. Amyntas, the brother of his father, still lived to dispute his right to the throne : and Attalus, whose niece, married to Philip, had been cruelly murdered by Olympias, was likely to support Amyntas. The states, which had been forced to submit to Philip, were eager to throw off the yoke. Persia was on the watch. Sparta, Elis, Argos, and nearly the whole of Arcadia, were preparing to renounce the Macedonian alliance. The garrisons left by Philip were drawn from Ambracia, when the old democratical government was restored. The Thebans had resolved to revive their citadel. The Athenians were receiving secret help from Persia, and negotiating with Attalus against Alexander.

267. To secure the stability of his government at home, the young king caused an inquiry to be made into the cause of his father's murder, the result of which was the execution of Heromenes and Arrabæus, sons of Aeropus, the Lyncestian, and some other persons of less note, who were believed to have been accomplices of Pausanias, and to have acted in concert with the Persian government. After these executions, Amyntas was put to death, on a charge of attempting to destroy the king.

268. Alexander, having completed the funeral honours to the memory of his father, declared, in an assembly of the people, his purpose of following out the plans which Philip had left unfinished. He then hastened into Greece, received the submission of the Thessalians, of the Thebans, and of the Athenians; and sent a trusty officer into Asia, who caused Attalus to be put to death. At Corinth, he assembled deputies from all the states of Greece, who invested him, like his father, with the supreme command in the war with Persia. Sparta, retaining her ancient firmness, refused to concur. In a few weeks, he settled his affairs in Greece, and returned to Macedonia.

269. To subdue the hostile barbarians, he proceeded, early in the following spring, to the principal defile of Mount Hæmus, or the Balkan, through which the passage lay to the country of the Triballians. A height, commanding the

defile, was occupied by the Thracians, where they intrenched themselves behind their wagons, which they prepared to roll down on the Macedonians as they marched up the steep ascent. Alexander ordered such of his troops as were able to open their ranks to make room for the wagons to pass; while such of them as were not in a condition to do this, were ordered to fall flat on the earth; closing their shields over their heads, so that the wagons might bound over them. He then attacked the enemy with his unbroken force; put the greater part to flight; killed fifteen hundred; took possession of their camp, and sent the prisoners and the women to be sold in the cities bordering on the Euxine.

270. Having thus secured his passage beyond the mountains, he marched in three days to the Danube, which he crossed, with his whole army, in the night; and in the morning surprised and dispersed a large body of the Getæ, of whose town he took possession. There he received offers of submission, or of peace, from many of the tribes bordering on the Danube. Observing the large stature and haughty air of some Celts, he asked them, "What are you most afraid of?" They proudly answered, "The falling of the sky." Alexander gave them assurances of friendship and alliance, but said to some of his attendants, "These Celts are an arrogant people." Returning towards Macedonia, through Agriania and Pæonia, which were friendly countries, he was induced, by tidings of an insurrection in Illyria, to march to Pellion, a strong fortress of the Illyrians, held by Cleitus, their king, now in alliance with Glaucias, king of the Taulantians. After many efforts of skill and bravery against a greatly superior force, well acquainted with their forests, and the winding passes between the mountains, he succeeded in slaying numbers, taking many prisoners, and driving their despairing remnant, who burned their fortress, into the recesses of the Taulantian mountains.

271. In Greece, a report was circulated that Alexander had fallen in the Illyrian war. The Thebans believing—at least hoping—that the report was true, recalled their exiles, murdered two Macedonian officers, onfranchised their slaves, and laid siege to the citadel. In these measures, they were encouraged by the Athenians and other states. Tidings of this revolt reached Alexander in Illyria. In thirteen days, he was in Bœotia. While slowly approaching Thebes, he

offered peace on favourable terms, which were rejected with scorn. The attacks and insults of the Thebans provoked Perdiccas, the leader of Alexander's advanced division, to begin an assault without waiting for orders, in which he was followed by Amyntas, the commander of the next division. Seeing his officers and men beaten back by the Thebans, Alexander brought up a close phalanx, drove the Thebans within their gates, which, in their confusion, they had left open, and the Macedonians and their auxiliaries rushed in; six thousand of the Thebans were slain, and thirty thousand taken prisoners. In a council of the allies, it was decreed that the citadel should be occupied by a Macedonian garrison; that the lower city should be destroyed; that all the lands, except such as were sacred to the temples, should be divided among the allies; and that all the citizens, excepting only the priests, priestesses, and adherents of Alexander, should be sold for slaves. The work of destruction was accomplished by the ferocity of the Thracians—by the resentment of the Phocians—and by the citizens of Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Plateæ, who had been cruelly wronged by Thebes in the days of her power.

272. By the orders of Alexander, the house of Pindar, the poet, was spared, with such of his descendants as were found in Thebes. It is related by Plutarch, that a band of Thracians having plundered the house of Timoclea, a Theban matron, their commander insulted her, and demanded her gold and silver. She led him into a garden, and showed him a well into which she told him she had flung her richest treasures. As he was stooping to reach them, she pushed him headlong into it, and covered him with stones. The soldiers dragged her, in chains, to Alexander. Her firm carriage, and fearless aspect, struck the conqueror, who said to her, "Who are you, that dare to do so bold a deed?" "I am," she answered, "the sister of Theagenes, who fell fighting against Philip, for the freedom of Greece, at Chæroneæ." The action and the answer were both so gratifying to the king, that he set herself and her children free.

273. The severe treatment of Thebes filled the rest of Greece with awe of the conqueror. Sparta alone was silent. The other states made haste to implore Alexander's mercy. The Athenians sent envoys to congratulate him on his victories. He demanded the persons of Demosthenes

and of the other leaders of the party opposed to Macedonia, on whom he laid the blame of the revolt at Thebes. By the arts of Demades, the open friend of Macedonia, Alexander was satisfied, while the lives of the Athenians were saved.

274. The return of Alexander to Macedonia was celebrated with the utmost pomp of magnificence. The ancient capital *Ægea*, became the theatre of solemnities, resembling those of Olympus. For nine days, the Muses were honoured with games and sacrifices at *Dium*, in *Pieria*. The principal officers of the Macedonian army, together with ambassadors from the states of Greece, were entertained at the table of the king. In the midst of these festivities, Alexander opened to his friends his schemes of conquest in the east. *Parmenio* and *Antipater*, who had won the confidence of Philip by their wisdom, entreated him to defer the expedition until he had a son who could succeed him on his throne. But the ardour of Alexander, and his confidence in his own genius, brooked no delay. His mind was filled with the prospect which fired his ambition.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF ASIA.

Affairs in Persia—Alexander sets out for Asia—Proceeds to Ephesus—Rebuilding of the temple of Diana—Capture of Miletus—Ephialtes—Thiasybulus—Halicarnassus destroyed—Parmenio—Surrender of Pamphylia—Gordium—Illness of Alexander—Recovery—Approach of Darius, the Persian king—Solt—Address of Alexander—Victory of Issus—Visit of Alexander to the Persian queen—Alexander subdues Marathon, Byblus, and the adjacent territories, and Sidon—City of Tyre—Melekartha, the Tyrian Hercules—Preparations for the siege of Tyre—Offers of Darius to Alexander—Alexander marches towards Egypt—Siege of Gaza—Alexander's preparation for the invasion of Egypt—Pelusium—Memphis—Pharos—Foundation of Alexandria—Revolt of the Ægean isles—Alexander's pilgrimage to the temple of Jupiter Ammon—Alexander crosses the Euphrates—Tigris—Preparations of the Persian king—The battle of Arbela—Alexander's triumphant entry into Babylon—Susa—Destruction of the palace of Persepolis—Death of Darius—Alexander conquers Hyrcania—Bessus, murderer of Darius—Encounter with Alexander—Subjugation of Bactria and Sogdiana—Philotas—Death of Parmenio—Trial of Alexander the Lyncestian—Extension of Alexander's conquests—Sogdiana—Roxana—Artabazus—Cleitus—Effect of Alexander's manners on the Macedonians—Conspiracy—Callisthenes—Alexander obtains possession of the Persian empire—Cophen—Indus—Taxila—Porus—Danger of Alexander—Musicanus—Rebellion—Surrender of Pattala—Marriage of eldest daughter of Darius with Alexander—Catanas—Means adopted by Alexander to retain the good-will of the Macedonians—Death of Hephestion—Cossians—Death of Alexander—Character—Henry Martyn.

275. It had long been the policy of Persia to encourage, for her own safety, the quarrels of the Greeks among themselves. The empire had been restored to its ancient limits by the subjugation of Egypt; and after a series of revolutions in the royal family, the throne was occupied by Darius Codomannus, or Darius the third, at the time of Alexander's projected invasion. Committing the affairs of Macedonia and of Greece to Antipater, Alexander set out with an army of thirty thousand men, for Asia, and reached Sestos, on the Hellespont, with thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, in twenty days. A hundred and sixty vessels were waiting his arrival there, to transport his army across the Hellespont to Abydos, in Asia. Having raised an altar on the European shore, he embarked in his own galley, steered by himself; offered sacrifices and libations midway between the two continents; and raised another altar on the Asiatic shore, to commemorate his landing. He visited the supposed site

of ancient Troy, and placed a crown on the column which marked the burial-place of Achilles; and then joined his army at Arisbe, near Abydos. The satraps of Lydia and of Phrygia, and Memmon, a Rhodian, occupying a high place in the Persian army, were assembled with a force of forty thousand at Zelen, sixty miles from the Hellespont, on the right bank of the Granicus, a small river, that ran from Mount Ida to the Propontis. As Alexander approached the river, his scouts informed him that the enemy were encamped on the opposite side. Without heeding the counsels of Parmenio, Alexander, bent on beginning the war with an action that should inspire the Persians with terror, gave orders to cross the stream. The first squadron was driven back by the Persian cavalry; but Alexander cheered his companions by his voice and the gestures of his arm, and the cavalry made good their landing.

276. The glittering armour of the king, and the activity of his attendants, marked him out to the bravest of the Persians, who eagerly waited for his advance. He had beaten to the ground Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, when Rhossaces instantly struck him a blow which broke the crest of his helmet. While he was piercing the breast of this assailant with his javelin, Spithridates, the Lydian satrap, from behind, raised his scimitar, which was descending on the head of Alexander, when Cleitus, with his sabre, cut off the uplifted arm, which fell with the weapon in its grasp. The infantry were crossing the river, while the cavalry forced the Persians to give way. As soon as they landed, they were interspersed, according to the Macedonian custom, among the cavalry; and, by their superior courage, bold discipline, as well as by the greater strength of their javelins, the united forces of Alexander put the whole mass of the Persian horse to flight. Their foot, composed principally of Greek mercenaries, struck with astonishment, maintained their ground; but being attacked by the phalanx in front, and by the cavalry in the rear and flanks, they were all cut down, with the exception of two thousand who surrendered.

277. The loss of Persian officers in this battle was terrific. Arsites, of Phrygia, who had advised the engagement, fell by his own hand soon after the battle. The principal generals, including the Lydian satrap, the governor at Cappadocia,

Mithridates, and Arbufales, son of Artaxerxes, were slain on the field. Of the few whom Alexander lost, five and twenty belonged to the guards, to whose memory he ordered statues of brass to be formed by Lysippus, the most honoured of his sculptors, and to be set up at Dium, in Macedonia. They were buried, the day after the battle, with due pomp; and their parents and their children were declared to be exempt from all taxation. The Persian officers were likewise buried. Alexander was careful in visiting the wounded, and hearing their tales. The Grecian mercenaries, who were taken prisoners, were condemned to labour in the mines, for bearing arms against their country. He dedicated three hundred suits of Persian armour to the temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis at Athens, with the inscription, "Taken from the barbarians of Asia by Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, excepting the Lacedæmonians." He conferred the satrapy of Arsites, in Phrygia, on Calas, son of Harpalus, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry; and the satrapy of Sphithridates on Asander, a Macedonian. To the citizens of Sardis, who received him with prompt submission, and to the Lydians generally, he restored the laws of their ancient monarchy, after a subjection of two hundred years to Persia. Leaving an Argive garrison in the citadel of Sardis, he marched in four days to Ephesus. His arrival at that city put an end to fierce tumults between opposite factions.

278. The Ephesians were at that time employed in rebuilding the temple of Diana, which had been set on fire by Herostratus twenty years before. To encourage them in their undertaking, Alexander commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians to be consecrated to that work; and before he departed, he celebrated an offering to Diana in the presence of his army. The Grecian cities, on the coast, he restored to their ancient freedom, and thus gained to himself a valuable defence against the rival power of Persia. Magnesia and Trallis, in the vale of Mœander, tendered their submission; and Parmenio went to take possession of them, while the king advanced to Miletus, in the hope of meeting with no opposition. But the commander of the garrison, hearing of the approach of the Persian army from Phœnicia, resolved to defend his position. Alexander secured the island at the entrance of the harbour, took the city by assault, and hindered the Persians from landing on

the shore. He then dismissed his own fleet, with the exception of a small squadron, and prosecuted the war along the southern coast of Asia Minor. The strength of the enemy was stationed at Halicarnassus, under the command of Memnon, aided by Ephialtes and Thrasybulus, two Athenians, and defended by a fleet at the mouth of the harbour.

279. Alexander had scarcely come within a mile and a half of Halicarnassus, when the garrison made a vigorous sally, which he drove back without much difficulty. He commenced his operations against the city by filling up the broad and deep trench which surrounded the wall, and then advancing with wooden towers and battering engines. The battalion of Perdicas was posted on the side nearest to Miletus. Two of his soldiers, heated with wine, challenged each other to storm the citadel alone; other soldiers, of the same battalion, seeing their danger, hastened to their relief; and the success of this drunken frolic induced Alexander to attack the walls with greater force. Though he forbore to lead his men through the trenches when they were enraged by the sallies of the garrison, the effect produced convinced Memnon that it would be impossible to hold out much longer. In the night, they fired the wooden tower which they had raised for their defence, and escaped, with the boldest of their adherents, to two strong castles. Alexander took possession of the city, and razed it to the ground. He committed the government of the province of Caria to Ada, the hereditary princess of the country, on whose tributary throne the Persian king had placed an usurper. Ada had, however, still retained possession of the strong city of Alinda.

280. When Alexander reached Caria, the princess met him, gave up Alinda to him, and addressed him as her son. Leaving a large force to help Ada in driving the enemy from their strong-holds, he directed his course to the harbours which might shelter the Persian fleet, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, while Parmenio penetrated the countries in the interior.—Before Alexander left Caria, he adopted a wise and generous measure. Three of his generals were newly married when they left Macedonia, and a portion of the troops were in the same circumstances. All these he sent home to spend the winter with their families,

and ordered them to bring back with them as many new levies as they could raise.—Another officer was sent for all the troops he could engage in Peloponnesus. The greater part of the cavalry was sent to Sardis, under the command of Parmenio, with directions to meet Alexander in Phrygia, after he had finished his march along the Syrian and Pamphylian coasts. In the course of this march, he subdued Marmora in Caria, received the submission of Telmissus in Syria, crossed the Xanthus, and took under his protection, from the Pindian mountaineers, the people of Phaselis, who offered him a crown of gold.

281. In the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he received from Parmenio intelligence of the plot against his life, by Alexander, brother of the Lyncestians, who had been executed for the murder of Philip, and whom the king had appointed commander of the Thessalian cavalry when Calas became the satrap of Phrygia. The intelligence was, that this man had made an engagement with the court of Persia to kill his sovereign, on condition that Darius should help him to secure the vacant throne: the messenger of Darius had fallen into the power of Parmenio, who sent him to the king; the king gave orders for his immediate arrest.

282. Proceeding eastward, Alexander sent the main body of his army by the mountains to Pergæ, while, with a select band of followers, he himself resolved to try the difficult road along the shore. The sea beats so high against the rocks of that shore, that there is no passage but when the waves are driven back by a strong north wind. Encouraged by favourable omens, which appealed to their superstition, the followers of Alexander cheerfully accompanied him, though the wind was blowing from the south. It sank gradually as they approached the most difficult part of the shore; and then it veered round to the north; so that by wading breast-high for many hours, they reached Pergæ in safety. The chief city and port of Pamphylia was Aspendus, near the mouth of the Eurymedon, east of Pergæ. Ambassadors from this rich seat of commerce met Alexander, and, in the name of the city, offered to surrender; but they prayed that he would not burden them with a Macedonian garrison. Their request was granted on condition that they contributed fifty talents, and delivered to him the horses which they were rearing as a tribute to

Darius. When Alexander had passed beyond their city as far as Syllium, he learned that the Aspendians were not disposed to fulfil their promise, but, on the contrary, were preparing to defend their city. To their surprise he immediately returned, raised the demand of tribute to a hundred talents, to be paid every year; took several of their chief citizens as hostages; and made them submit to arbitration a dispute with their neighbours respecting some lands which they were charged with having unjustly seized. Alexander now determined on advancing to join Parmenio and the rest of his army, according to appointment, in Phrygia. His road lay through the mountainous country of Pisidia, whose fierce people, secure in their rocky fortresses, had defied the Persian arms. Having gained the pass into Phrygia, and subdued most of the Pisidian towns, he marched to Gordium, the ancient capital of the Phrygian monarchy, seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician Sea. Its name was said to have been given to it by Gorgias the father of Midas.

283. Gorgias, according to the tradition of the country, had a small portion of land, a wagon, and two yokes of oxen. One day, while he was ploughing, an eagle rested on his plough till the evening. Gorgias, amazed at what could not but be deemed a prodigy in an age of superstition, hastened to the Telmissions in the highest mountains of Pisidia, famed for their skill in augury. On his arrival, he met a maiden of that people drawing water from a fountain, who directed him to go to the top of an adjoining hill and sacrifice to Jupiter, and accompanied him to assist in the ceremony. She afterwards became his wife, and the mother of Midas. Some years after, the Phrygians, harassed by the seditions of parties, consulted an oracle, which told them that their troubles would be settled by a king who would come to them in a wagon. As they were deliberating on this answer, Midas, accompanied by his father and mother from Pisidia, appeared in the midst of them. They instantly chose Midas to be their king, and he succeeded in putting an end to their seditions. As a token of his gratitude to Jupiter, the king dedicated the wagon in the citadel. A prophecy had long been connected with this story, that the man who should untie the

knot, made of the rind of the cornel tree, which fastened the yoke of the wagon to the pole, would become the ruler of Asia. Alexander, who had heard of this famous Gordian knot, went to the citadel, loosed it, (or cut it,) and thus assured himself and his followers that the prophecy was to be fulfilled in his own success—an assurance which had the appearance of being ratified by a storm of thunder. Proceeding eastward with his army, he received, at Ancyra, the submission of the Paphlagonians, and passed through Cappadocia towards Cilicia. Finding the Pass, or Gate of Tarsus, guarded by Arsames, the Persian satrap of Cilicia, he hurried on with a few light troops, and so alarmed the enemy by his approach, that they fled in confusion, and left him master both of the Pass and of the city.

284. The water of the Cydnus, which flows through Tarsus, tempted Alexander to bathe. Either the violent exertions of the preceding march, or the coldness of the river, brought on a fever. His malady filled the army with sadness, approaching to despair. Alexander himself declared that his concern was only that he might live to conquer Darius, who was now approaching. He demanded of his physicians some sudden remedy—some bold trial of skill for his recovery. The physicians were seized with alarm, which was increased by the report that Darius had offered a thousand talents to any man who would take away Alexander's life. One, however, of his physicians, Philip, an Acarnanian, who had been ardently attached to him from his childhood, offered to prepare a medicine which would relieve him. When Philip brought the medicine, Alexander, it is said, had in his hand a letter from Parmenio, warning him that Philip was bribed by Darius to poison him. He gave the letter to the physician to read—while he drank off the draught! To the unspeakable joy of his followers he regained his strength. When his recovery had made some progress, he sent Parmenio to secure one of the passes near the coast from Cilicia into Syria. On arriving at Anchialus, he visited the tomb of Sardanapalus its reputed founder. On the tomb was the statue of the voluptuous tyrant in the attitude of clapping his hands; and beneath was the inscription:—"Stranger! eat, drink, and gratify thy senses; for other human things are not worth this"—(the clap of the hands). At Soli, Alexander celebrated the

victories of Ptolemy and Asander, two of his generals in Caria, and, at the same time, expressed his gratitude for his recovery from sickness, by sacrifice and solemn festivals. At Mallus, on the eastern boundary of Cilicia, he learned that Darius was within two days march.

285. Darius left Babylon with an army of six hundred thousand men. Over the royal pavilion was an image of the sun in crystal. The sacred fire, carried on silver altars, was preceded by a band of Magian singers, accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths clothed in purple, representing the days of the year. These were followed by the chariot of the sun drawn by white horses; ten royal chariots embossed with gold and silver; the cavalry of twelve nations armed in the fashion of their respective countries; the Immortal Band of ten thousand with golden collars, and robes glittering with precious stones; fifteen thousand associates or relatives of the king; the guards; the king himself, covered with gold and gems, in a chariot adorned with an eagle; statues representing peace and war, and images of gods, attended on each side by ten thousand spearmen, and followed by the king's horses, amounting to four hundred; the mother and the consort of Darius in a chariot attended by females; the children with their teachers and nurses; three hundred and sixty concubines in queenly equipage; six hundred mules and three hundred camels laden with treasures, and guarded by archers; the households of the great officers of state, and the light armed troops bringing up the rear.

286. With this gorgeous pageant, Darius waited impatiently at Soli for the advance of Alexander. His flatterers had induced him to believe that the Macedonian invader was afraid to meet so great a monarch at the head of so magnificent an army; and the great king, despising the counsels of Amyntas, the Macedonian exile, and of the Greek commanders in his service, sent his treasures to Damascus, and pushed on to overtake Alexander, whom he imagined to be fleeing from him on the plains of Alicia. Alexander had been joined by Parmenio, who secured Issus, where he left the sick and wounded. Two days after, he would have crossed the mountains to the vale watered by the Orontes, but was detained by a storm at Myriandrus. There he learned that Darius had crossed the mount inna

from Syria into Cilicia, and was marching back by the sea-coast towards Issus. Of this he assured himself by some of his officers, who confirmed the report by actual observation. Darius found at Issus the sick men left there by Alexander, and either mutilated them, and sent them thus to Alexander, or, with barbarous ferocity, put them all to death.

287. Alexander felt that the approaching battle was one that must decide the fate of Asia; and he was not sorry that the Persian had left the open plain in which his numerous cavalry, the main strength of his army, might be employed with the greatest advantage, for a situation nearly surrounded by mountains and bordered by the sea, where it would be impossible to avail himself of his prodigious numbers. Riding along the ranks, Alexander addressed words of encouragement to his officers, which they were to repeat to all the troops. He called to the memory of the Macedonians their past exploits, and the glorious conquest which awaited them. He reminded the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. He exhibited to the Thracians the untold wealth within their reach. Animated by the harangue of their leader, they eagerly entreated to be ordered to march. On a neighbouring height, he offered sacrifice by torch-light, after which he secured the Mountain Pass, and allowed his men to repose till the break of day. The two armies were drawn up for battle on the opposite sides of the river Pinarus. Alexander slowly and steadily advanced till they came within reach of the Persian arrows, when he rapidly crossed the stream, and rushed at once into close fight. The battle raged fiercely and doubtfully till Darius, who, in his royal chariot, occupied the centre of his army, took to flight, and was soon followed by his entire host. When he reached the hills, he left his chariot and his armour, and, mounting a swift horse, escaped in the night beyond the reach of his pursuers.

288. Alexander was wounded in the thigh during the battle. As soon as he was sure of the victory, he joined in the pursuit of Darius; but, on reaching the chariot, he found only his arms and his mantle. Returning to the camp he took possession of the royal pavilion, and was struck with the effeminate and costly luxuries it contained. A casket of rare workmanship, studded with jewels, in which Darius

kept his perfumes, was presented to him ; he said, " I use no perfumes ; but I will put into it something more precious—the Iliad of Homer, corrected by the pen of Aristotle." Before he supped, he heard the wail of mourners in the adjoining tent. It proceeded from the mother and the wife of Darius, lamenting his death. Alexander immediately sent them word that Darius was alive, and that no injury should be offered to themselves.

289. The victory of Issus was commemorated by altars on the banks of the Pinarus, the founding of a city, the release of captives, and other acts of munificence, which have commanded the just admiration of all ages. The beautiful story, familiar to most readers, of the conqueror's visit to the Persian queen, is scarcely probable. In a letter to Parmenio, he says : " I neither saw, nor would see, the wife of Darius ; and did not suffer any one to speak of her beauty in my presence." A learned modern historian, Dr. Thirlwall, has remarked, that " this anecdote, if true, would scarcely have been omitted by Ptolemy and Aristobulus ; and perhaps Alexander showed a more delicate generosity if he abstained from a visit which, however kind and condescending his language and behaviour, could not but convey with it something like the air of a triumph.*" The victory at Issus put Alexander in possession of the Persian treasures at Damascus, and brought into his power the envoys of Greece, who were taken prisoners by Parmenio in that city. For various reasons, however, these Grecian prisoners were released. Darius passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, with about four thousand of his army. The Greek officers in his service reached Tripolis, in Phœnicia, seized some of the ships from Lesbos, and burning the rest to prevent pursuit, made their escape to Cyprus. Amyntas effected a revolution against Persia, in Egypt ; but he was soon after slain in an engagement with the Persian commander of Memphis.

290. As soon as Darius had rallied his forces, he sent ambassadors to Alexander at Marathus, in Phœnicia, remonstrating with him for invading his dominions, offering alliance with him, and asking him to give up his wife, mother, and children. Alexander, in his reply, justified

* *History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 186.

his own conduct, complained of the perfidy of Darius ; and required him to come in person to his conqueror, and make his requests, not as an equal, but as a subject.—As the success of Alexander, at Issus, prevented his enemies from carrying out their designs against him in Greece, he resolved, by subduing Phœnicia and Egypt, to make himself master of the western provinces of the Persian empire, before he advanced upon the east. In his progress, he received the submission of Marathus, and Byblus, and the neighbouring territories ; and Sidon opened her gates to welcome him as her deliverer from the Persian yoke.

291. The city of Tyre was the queen of the sea. This city was built on an island half a mile from the main land, and surrounded by walls a hundred feet high, and eighteen miles in circumference. A deputation of her citizens went out to meet Alexander on his approach, with costly presents and friendly offers, but informing him that they would allow neither Persians nor Macedonians to come within their walls ; Alexander replied to them that he intended to cross the strait to their island, and to sacrifice to Melekartha the Tyrian Hercules.

292. In a council of war, Alexander resolved to lay siège to Tyre. He began to construct a mole from the continent across the narrow strait to the island. As they approached the island, this work was rendered extremely difficult by the greater depth of the water, and by the darts and other missiles hurled from the battlements of the city, and from the Tyrian ships. After labouring for many weeks, Alexander succeeded in completing his work with stones from the ruins of ancient Tyre, and timber from the forests of Antilibanus ; and having received large reinforcements of ships, he drove the Tyrians to their harbours. Still the besieged annoyed their assailants by carrying out beds of stones into the water ; by cutting the cables of their ships ; and by flinging burning sand on them as they attempted to scale the walls. But the perseverance of the besiegers was gaining ground. For cables they substituted chains. The stones were removed to the deep sea by machines. In the terror that now seized the Tyrians, some of them proposed, according to ancient usage, to sacrifice a noble youth to Moloch ; and, though this horrid rite was rejected by the government, they executed their prisoners on the walls,

within sight of the enemy, and then flung their corpses into the sea. They attempted to cut off the vessels at the mouth of the northern harbour; but their ships being sunk or taken, by the vigilance of Alexander, they were compelled to keep within their walls. A breach was at length made in the walls; and Alexander, followed by his victorious troops, gained possession of Tyre, after a dreadful siege of seven months. The conqueror honoured Melekartha, the tutelary deity, with military processions, sacrifices, and solemn games.

293. We must not leave this brief description without reminding the reader of the remarkable prophecy delivered by Ezekiel respecting ancient Tyre: "They shall destroy the walls of Tyrus and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. . . . They shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses: and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water." * The city to which this prophecy refers, had been destroyed fifteen years after the delivery of this prediction, by Nebuchadnezzar. New Tyre arose from its ruins; and in her destruction by Alexander we see the fulfilment, more than two hundred years after, of another portion of the prophecy.

294. During the siege of Tyre, Darius sent ambassadors again, offering ten thousand talents for the ransom of his captive family, and the western provinces of his empire, together with his daughter's hand, as the price of peace. Parmenio said, of these offers, "If I were Alexander I would accept them." "So would I," replied the king, "if I were Parmenio." To Darius his answer was: "The gold and silver which you offer, are already mine. If I choose to marry the princess, I need not your consent. If you desire my favour, come to me as a suppliant."

295. After the conquest of Tyre, Alexander marched southwards to Egypt: at the same time sending Parmenio thither with his fleet. The only defile through which he could pass, on that side, into Egypt, was defended by the ancient city of Gaza, on the skirt of the Arabian desert. This city was at that time held for Darius by Batis, who, trusting to the

* Ezek. xxv.—xxviii compared with Isa xliii and Zech i.

great strength of the place, refused to surrender. Finding it impracticable to shake the wall without raising a terrace on which to place his battering engines, Alexander ordered the works to be constructed. The siege continued three or four months; the besieged fired the engines, and maintained several severe conflicts with their assailants, during one of which Alexander was severely wounded in the shoulder. Before his recovery, he ordered the mound to be enlarged, and the engines left at Tyre to be brought; and when this was done he renewed the attack on the walls, made a breach through which his army entered the city, putting all its defenders to the sword. The women and children were sold as slaves; and the fortress was occupied by people from other places in Palestine.

296. There is a well-known tradition, which will presently be laid before the reader, preserved by Josephus,* which modern historians generally reject as inconsistent with the truth of history. It is certain that Alexander subdued Syria; that Parnenio became governor of Damascus; and that he was succeeded by Andromachus.

297. It should be remembered, as accounting partly for the silence of the Greek historians respecting the Jews, that this singular people lived in the seclusion of their valleys, during the whole time in which the Greeks were making the progress described in the preceding chapters. As they lay out of the line of adventure, "the Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people, speaking a language which they esteemed barbarous, were quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed of treasures of poetry which could rival their own Pindar and Simonides, moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato—a people who hereafter were to send forth the great religious instructors of the world."

298. The writer whose words have now been quoted, gives the following romantic and picturesque story, which embodies the tradition to which we have referred: "While Alexander was at the siege of Tyre, he sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. The high priest answered that he

had sworn fealty to Darius, and was bound to maintain his allegiance to that monarch. After the taking of Gaza, the conqueror advanced against Jerusalem. Juddua, the high priest, and the people, were in the greatest consternation. But in a vision God commanded Juddua to take comfort—to hang the city with garlands, throw open the gates, and go forth to meet the enemy, clad in his pontifical robes, the priests in their ceremonial attire, the people in white garments.—Juddua obeyed. The solemn procession marched forth to Saphia, an eminence from whence the whole city and temple might be seen. No sooner had Alexander beheld the high priest in his hyacinthine robes, embroidered with gold, and with the turban and its golden frontal, than he fell prostrate and adored the Holy Name which was there inscribed in golden characters. His attendants were lost in astonishment. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans had been eagerly watching the signal to disperse the suppliants, and pillage the city. The Syrian kings who stood around began to doubt if he were in his senses. Parmenio at length demanded why he, whom all the world worshipped, should worship the High Priest? ‘I worship,’ replied the monarch, ‘not the High Priest, but his God. In a vision at Dios, in Macedonia, that figure in that very dress appeared to me. He exhorted me to pass over into Asia, and achieve the conquest of Persia.’” Alexander then took the priest by the hand, and entered the city. He offered sacrifice, and the high priest communicated to him the prophecies of Daniel, predicting that a Greek was to overthrow the Persian empire. Alexander, delighted with his reception, offered to the Jews whatever gift they should desire. They requested the freedom of their brethren in Media and Babylonia. They likewise obtained an exemption from tribute in the sabbatical year. The difficulties and anachronisms of this whole story* have been exposed by Moyle, and Mitford the Grecian historian; and unfortunately the Alexandrian Jews were so much interested in inventing or embellishing any tale which could honourably connect them with the great founder of that city, that an account, which has most probably passed through their hands, must be

* “For instance: the High Priest refuses his allegiance to Alexander, though aware that he is designated by God, in the Prophecy of Daniel, as the Destroyer of the Persian empire.”

received with great mistrust. It is added, that the Samaritans petitioned for the same exemption from tribute in the sabbatical year. Alexander hesitated. But some of the inhabitants having, for some unknown reason, risen against Andromachus, the Macedonian commander in Samaria, Alexander ordered the whole people to be expelled, and planted a Macedonian colony in their room. The Samaritans retreated to Shechem, and hence they are called, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, "the foolish people that dwell at Shechem." The insurrection and expulsion of the Samaritans is mentioned by Curtius. Of the former history, the chroniclers of Alexander are silent, excepting perhaps Justin, in a passage which it is fair to mention. That author says, that in many of the Syrian cities, the kings came out to meet and submit to Alexander, with sacred fillets on their heads. Alexander is likewise stated to have transplanted 100,000 Jews to his new colony in Egypt, and bestowed on them equal privileges and immunities with the Macedonians.*

299. Notwithstanding the doubts of respectable writers, one of the most learned and cautious regards the story as probably well founded: "The respect paid by Alexander to the Jewish religion, and even the fiction of the dream, are perfectly consistent with his character and policy, if they do not stamp the substance of the narrative with an unquestionable mark of truth."†

300. The way was now open for Alexander's invasion of Egypt. The people of that country had groaned under the Persian dominion, and were prepared to hail a conqueror who endeared himself to them by his respect for their national worship, and by entertaining them with elaborate displays of the amusements of the Greeks.

301. At Pelusium he found his fleet, which he ordered to Memphis, while he himself proceeded to that ancient capital across the desert. From Memphis, he sailed down the Nile, round the lake Marotis, and to the isle of Pharos. To secure the communication between the east and the west, he gave orders for the erection of a city on the mainland, and a broad wall running out to the isle of Pharos, having a passage or canal at each end, with bridges, con-

* The History of the Jews, (Family Library) vol. ii. p. 80—82.

† Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. vi. p. 207.

necting the old harbour on one side with the new port on the other. The city was laid out, under the direction of Alexander, by Democrates, a Macedonian architect, and was named, after its founder, Alexandria.—Within twenty years, Alexandria became one of the greatest cities in the east, and continued for many ages to be the centre of the commerce of the world, second only to Rome, and the seat of a school of learning which exerted the most important influence on the opinions and character of mankind. It is still a place of considerable trade, with a population of twenty-five thousand, and consuls from most of the nations of Europe. The modern town is situated on the Isthmus, raised by the accumulation of sand on the wall, connecting the former site with Pharos, and is built out of the ruins and fragments of the ancient city.

302. While engaged in this peaceful undertaking, Alexander received tidings that Tenedos, Chios, Lesbos, and Cos, had revolted from Persia, thus leaving him the entire command of the islands of the *Ægean*. He then performed a romantic pilgrimage to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, for which various motives of curiosity, vanity, and policy, have been assigned. This temple which, with its oracle, had long been the object of superstitious veneration to the Egyptians, was embosomed in the groves of an oasis—a green and well watered valley, five miles across, in the heart of the Libyan desert, about a hundred and fifty miles from the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Marching two hundred miles westward, along the African coast, Alexander then traversed, in a south-east direction, the rocky and pathless waste, guided by the crawl of serpents and the flight of ravens, to the fountains of the oasis. The symbol of the deity, contained in a golden ship, carried on the shoulders of eighty priests, and followed by a chorus of virgins and matrons, met Alexander, on his approach, and led him to the temple.—Whatever were the questions he put to the oracle, and the answers he received, the impression produced was—that Alexander was acknowledged as the son of Jupiter, and the destined conqueror of the world.

303. Having gratified the desire which prompted this journey, Alexander returned to Memphis, and employed some time in arranging those plans for the government of Egypt, which have been praised for their wisdom and their liberal-

ity, as deservedly as his conquests for their boldness and extent. In the following spring, he departed for Tyre, where he found his fleet. From thence, he began his march to the east. He crossed the Euphrates, at Thapsacus, by a bridge which he threw over for that purpose; and then he advanced through the most fertile part of Mesopotamia until he reached the Tigris—a distance, including the whole march from Memphis, of eight hundred miles. During the rest which his troops were taking after this long march, there was an eclipse of the moon. His men were affrighted, believing that the heavens frowned on the expedition; but the soothsayer explained it to be a sign that the glory of Persia was about to be extinguished.—In a march along the course of the Tigris, they approached the camp of Darius. The Persian king had been employed, since the battle of Issus, in raising a larger and more formidable army, gathered from among the warlike races on the east of the Caspian, from Cabul, the mountains near the Indus, and from Transoxania, together with the tribes from between the Caspian and the Persian gulf. We know not to how many hundreds of thousands this mass of warriors amounted. Besides these, there were scythe-chariots; and elephants from India. In preparation for a battle, Darius had chosen, as a situation favourable to the movements of cavalry and chariots, a wide and level plain extending from the Tigris to the mountains of Kurdistan. The night before the battle, his whole army was kept under arms. From a slight rising ground, at the distance of three or four miles, Alexander surveyed the enemy, drawn up in fighting order by the break of day. He first examined the ground; and, after that, exhorted his officers to place before the troops the greatness of the prize for which they were now to fight; to urge them to march with silent order; and, then, to attack the enemy with a terrific shout. It is said, that Parmenio proposed to attack the Persians by night; but that Alexander replied: “I will not steal the victory.”

304. From this battle Darius fled, as he had done before from the battle of Issus. Leaving Parmenio to take possession of the Persian camp, Alexander pursued Darius to Arbela, where he found the royal treasure; but the fugitive had crossed the mountains, by a route which could not be followed

with an army. Some historians relate, that, at one period of the battle, the Persian cavalry attempted to rescue the royal captives; but that Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, refused to flee.—His queen, described as the most beautiful woman in Asia, had died, not long after the battle of Issus. When Alexander heard of it, he entered the tent of Sisygambis, and found her lying on the ground, and weeping, surrounded by her grand-children. The conqueror comforted the mourners, and buried the deceased with royal honours. A faithful slave fled from the camp, and conveyed the intelligence to Darius. The bereaved monarch, it is said, raised his hands to heaven and prayed that, if he must lose the Persian empire, the throne of Cyrus might be enjoyed by Alexander.

305. This second victory of Alexander over Darius, which was two years after the first, is generally called the Battle of Arbela, the nearest city to the scene; but the actual spot was Gaugamela, or the House of the Dromedary, between forty and fifty miles west of Arbela. The victory was followed by offerings to the gods. Alexander then marched to Babylon. The people, headed by their priests, magistrates, and the commander of the citadel, came out to meet him; and his triumphant entry into the city was followed by his army through streets perfumed with flowers; and incense burning on silver altars; attended by processions laden with rich offerings; and by the chanting of priests. The treasures of the Persian kings were secured—the temples of the Chaldeans, which Xerxes had destroyed, were rebuilt—and sacrifices were offered to Belus. The civil administration was committed to Mazæus, a Persian officer, but the garrison and the collection of the tribute, to Greeks and Macedonians. In that city of eastern luxuries, the hardy conquerors of the north were indulged with a short season of repose and revelry, ere they proceeded to Susa, where they arrived in twenty days. Before their arrival, the city, with all its vast treasures, had been given up to Philoxenus, an officer of Alexander, immediately after the flight of Darius from Gaugamela. Among the precious relics in the treasury of Susa, were the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton; which Xerxes had carried away as trophies of his conquest of Athens, one hundred and fifty years before. These Alexander presented

to the Athenians. The gold and silver at Susa were much more abundant than at Babylon, amounting to fifty thousand talents, or ten millions sterling.

306. At Susa, Alexander received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand troops—collected from Macedonia, from Thrace, and from the Peloponnesus—whose leader informed him of the state of his affairs in Greece. The taking of this rich capital was celebrated by the usual solemnities, and peculiarly graced by restoring the mother of Darius, with his children, to the palace of their forefathers. The most ancient seat of the family at the head of the Persian empire was in Persia, their original country, of which the capital was Persepolis. To that city Alexander now marched, conquering his way through the Uxian mountains, which were defended by a race of warriors, to whom the Persian kings had always paid tribute as they passed; then, crossing the snowy heights to the difficult defile called the Gates of Persia, he put the Persian guards to flight.—Persepolis was a richer city than either Babylon or Susa. The treasure of the kings amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand talents, or twenty-four millions sterling.

307. It is one of the strange facts in human history, that Alexander, who had hitherto displayed a firmness of understanding and of self-possession rarely equalled, set fire, with his own hand, to the palace of Persepolis, when it had become his own property. It is true, that his army must have been enraged by the barbarous mutilation of numerous Greeks whom they met as they approached the city: and it was as the avenger of Greece that he had begun this expedition, for which reason the city was given up to the plunder of the soldiers: yet it is difficult to account for an act so inconsistent with his character as the one referred to, without admitting the story which ascribes it to intoxication.

308. On the south-east of Persepolis was an ancient city, said to have been built by Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy: and which also contained his tomb. This tomb Alexander treated with reverence; and he gave charge that any injury it had received from time should be repaired.

309. Darius, in his flight from Arbela, escaped to Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media: intending to retreat before

Alexander, to the farther side of the Oxus. After a few months' repose at Persepolis, Alexander marched to Ecbatana; from whence, after disbanding such of his troops as desired to return home, he pursued Darius as far as the Caspian gates, in the mountain range of Elburtz. Having passed the defile into the desert, he found that Darius had been put into chains by his own satraps, who had conspired against him. With extraordinary speed he still followed: at length he overtook Darius, abandoned and wounded by the traitors, lying dead in his chariot. Alexander covered the body of his fallen enemy with his own cloak, and sent him to be buried, with the pomp of royalty, in the tomb of his fathers at Persepolis.—Darius was the last of a line of thirteen kings, beginning with Cyrus, who had ruled the Persian empire for more than two hundred years. He is represented by historians as brave in single combat: the mildness of his reign was little suited to the troublesome times in which he lived, and arose perhaps from his weakness rather than from his disposition: he defended his falling empire with as much energy, in the opinion of the most cautious judges, as would have been shown, in the same circumstances, by any of those who had gone before him.

310. Halting at the Parthian city of Hecatompylus, Alexander sent away the greater part of his Greek forces, and proclaimed to the Macedonians, that those of them who chose to leave their king in the midst of his victories, were, likewise, at liberty to depart; but they declared their resolution to follow wherever he might lead them. With his reduced force, he now conquered Hyrcania; pierced the mountain district between the plains of Khorasan and the south of the Caspian; subdued the robbers in the Mardian forests; and celebrated his triumphs at Zadracarta, the capital of Parthia.

311. The death of Darius suggested to Alexander the policy of declaring himself the successor of that monarch. With this view, he laid himself out to conciliate the prejudices, and to adopt the manners, of the eastern nations. But, in proportion as he surrounded himself with the state of Asiatic despotism, he excited the suspicions and the jealousy of the Greeks and Macedonians.

312. The leading murderer of Darius was Bessus, the satrap

of Bactria. He was related to the royal family; and, after his master's death, he assumed the title of Artaxerxes, king of Asia. He raised an army of Bactrians, and was looking for support to the Scythian tribes bordering on the countries under his dominion.—To crush this formidable enemy, Alexander pressed forwards in that direction. Crossing the snowy mountains of the Indian Caucasus, he entered the vale of the Oxus; and, after suffering the severest hardships from the cold, and from the want of provisions, his army rested at the town of Zariaspa, in the highlands of Bactria. Bessus, aware of the pursuit, had crossed the Oxus, and had burned the boats which conveyed his troops. Alexander transported his troops over the same river in floats made of the skins of their tents, stuffed with dried reeds and withered grass; and sent forward Ptolemy, who captured Bessus, and brought him to Alexander. The army passed this captive as he stood, naked, with a clog fastened to his neck, by the road side; and, when Alexander himself reached the spot, he stopped his chariot, upbraided Bessus for his treachery to Darius, and ordered him to be scourged. After the subjugation of Bactria and Sogdiana, the ears and nose were cut off; and he was torn, limb from limb, at Ecbatana, in the presence of the assembled Medes and Persians.

313. It was during this campaign that Alexander showed some of the consequences of the change he had made in his conduct towards his Macedonian subjects after his accession to the throne of Asia. Before he left Egypt, he had entertained suspicions of the fidelity of Philotas, the only survivor of three sons of Parmenio, and the commander of the guards. Of an open, yet arrogant, character, Philotas had expressed himself incautiously respecting his father's merits and his own; and he had shown himself dissatisfied with the changes which Alexander was making, as a part of his oriental policy. Dimnus, a Macedonian officer, was charged by Nichomachus, a youth of bad character, with forming a plot against the king. The danger was revealed by the brother of Nichomachus to Philotas; but he delayed to apprise the king for several days: at length Alexander received the information through another medium. When Alexander demanded from Philotas the reason of his silence, he pleaded his contempt for the

character of his informer. Though Alexander professed to receive his excuse, he ordered him to be arrested and tried for treason, in the presence of the Macedonian troops. The king himself became his accuser; and he brought forward everything suspicious in the language and conduct of Philotas, to prove that his own life was in danger. Having delivered the proofs of the treason, Alexander retired, leaving Philotas to defend himself. This he did—by admitting his silence, which he explained, as before; by showing that he had not been named by Dimnus as a conspirator; and, by dwelling on the great improbability of his being guilty of a crime by which he could gain nothing, but had everything to lose. The following day he was tortured on the rack: when he made confessions, which involved both himself and his father, Parmenio, in the guilt of treason. The day after, this confession was read before the military tribunal: Philotas was condemned, and put to death on the spot. A trusty messenger was then sent across the desert of Ecbatana, with orders to despatch Parmenio. While the aged general was reading a letter, forged in his son's name, he was killed, and his head was carried to his master.

314. The office made vacant by the death of Philotas was shared between Hephæstion, Alexander's bosom friend, and Cleitus, son of Dropidas, who had saved the king's life at the battle of Granicus. The punishment of Philotas was soon followed by others. Alexander, the Lyncestrian, who had been arrested on a charge of treason three years before, was now brought to trial; and, his hesitation being taken by the soldiers for a proof of guilt, they at once transfixed him with their spears. Amyntas, an officer who had enjoyed the confidence of the king, had brought on himself the hatred of Olympias, Alexander's mother. Stimulated by her letters, Alexander charged Amyntas and his three brothers, known as friends of Philotas, with being parties to his conspiracy. But they were acquitted.

315. It is difficult to say whether Alexander is more an object of our blame or of our pity, in these transactions. His conquests had raised him to such a height above his followers—his danger was so imminent—that it is not surprising that he should be open to distrust; that this distrust should be worked upon by the weakness, or the treachery, of

those around him ; that a course of such unexampled success should hurry his impetuous nature into the extravagance of despotism ; and that the army, which adored him, and felt his life to be more precious to them than all others, should become his ready avengers against all who were suspected of alienation from him. Not a few of his difficulties are ascribed, by his historians to the imperious character of his mother, against whose interference in the government in Macedonia, Antipater, his regent there, was perpetually complaining. Amidst the bloody wars in which the conqueror lived, it is refreshing to record the simple touch of nature, contained in one of his replies to Antipater : " You know not how soon ten thousand letters of yours are blotted out by one of my mother's tears."

316. The conquests of Alexander now extended to the Jaxartes. He crossed that river, and founded a city, bearing his own name, as the northern boundary of his Asiatic dominion. Having drunk the unwholesome water of the desert, he was afflicted with a sickness which compelled him to recross the river, and, returning to the western side of the Oxus, he passed the winter at Zariaspa. His operations against the Scythians were attended with severe losses. His ravages in the fertile regions of Sogdiana, in revenge of an insurrection among its people, abounded with acts of atrocious cruelty, which we forbear to describe. The capture of one fortress in that country, called the Sogdian Rock, brought into his possession Roxana, the beautiful daughter of Oxyartes, a prince of Bactria : she became his queen.

317. At Maracanda, Artabazus, the aged follower of Darius, whom Alexander had made satrap of Bactria, resigned that post, to which Cleitus, (who has been mentioned in this history as the preserver of Alexander's life, and as sharing with Hephæstion the command of the guards,) was appointed. Cleitus was the brother of Laniçé, Alexander's nurse ; and he had been his companion from his childhood. The evening before the day on which Cleitus was to proceed to his new government, was spent at a banquet, which was attended by the poets and sophists of Greece, whose flatteries of the conqueror made them welcome at Alexander's court. It appears that the praises heaped by these men on Alexander became so gross and fulsome, that

Cleitus, who was excited by wine, declaimed strongly against it; and, hurried by his heated passion, he insulted the king, by extolling the exploits of Philip; and, reminding him of the Granicus, stretched out his hand, saying: "*This hand, Alexander, saved your life that day.*" The enraged king was restrained, for the moment, by his friends, from rushing on Cleitus, who was hurried from the chamber; but, immediately, Alexander—seizing a javelin from one of the guards, met Cleitus returning to the palace, and pierced him through the body. The frenzy of rage was immediately followed by the torment of remorse. For three days, he gave himself up to a storm of grief and self-reproach. Who can need to be reminded, by such a tragedy, of the dependence of the greatest men on the restraints of Divine power! How wretched was the conqueror of nations! how weak the master of the world! What a pitiable object is Alexander, with armies at his command, with all the objects of human desire—wealth, power, pleasure, glory, empire—in his grasp; yet, by one act of drunken fury, thrown into the agonies of a broken heart, and an accusing conscience! Such a scene may well reconcile us to an obscure lot, and teach us to seek our happiness, not in the "abundance of things," but in an enlightened and well-ordered mind, purified and strengthened by the grace of God.

318. From this fit of melancholy Alexander could not be relieved, either by the falsehoods of soothsayers, by the ruder flattery of his soldiers, or by the sophistry of the servile philosophers, who taught him—that he ought to deem all his own actions just. He sought his relief in the turmoil of war. He hastened, with his wonted rapidity, to the western frontier of his dominions; and, after a series of severe conflicts, reduced the insurgent Bactrians to entire submission. During this period, another example was given of the effect of Alexander's eastern manners on the minds of the Macedonians. A plot was discovered, among some of the young nobles. One of them, whose name was Hermolaus, had offended the king, in the chase, by hurling his spear at a wild boar, when the king was preparing to strike him. As a punishment, he was scourged in the presence of his companions, and degraded from his rank at court. Joined by four other youths of the same standing,

who, for various reasons, partook in the growing dissatisfaction with what they regarded as Alexander's tyranny, a conspiracy was formed among them to kill Alexander, while asleep. On the appointed night, Alexander, instead of retiring to his chamber, remained in the banquet-room till the hour when the guard was changed. The following day, one of the conspirators made known their scheme, which came to the ears of the king. All of them, excepting the informer, were put to the torture, and condemned to death.

319. In the confessions extorted from the criminals, the name of Callisthenes was mentioned. This man was from Olynthus, a relation of Aristotle, and one of his disciples. Hermolaus, and the other young conspirators, had resorted to him for instruction in philosophy and rhetoric. It had been his misfortune, or his folly, to excite Alexander's displeasure by abusing the Macedonians, in a speech which he delivered at an entertainment given by the king. Still more deeply had he offended, by refusing to offer, with other courtiers, the Persian ceremony of adoration to the king. It was not difficult to give suspicions the appearance of proofs; and he was put to death, on the charge of instigating the late conspirators to the murder of the king, by his doctrines and by his example.—In these instances, as in those of Parmenio and Philotas, we see how the mind of Alexander became intoxicated with success. While his ambition soared beyond the reach of mortals, he stained his memory with crimes which are the abhorrence of mankind. Whatever appearance of policy there might be in adapting himself to the servile and conquered races of the east, that very policy disgusted those with whose help he had climbed the heights of glory; and his fears, jealousies, and unbridled resentments, carried him away, as with the force of a torrent, till he became the murderer of his best friends.

320. By subduing the barbarians of Northern Asia, Alexander secured for himself the possession of the Persian empire, and he had at his command numerous hordes of hardy warriors, to carry into effect his plans for the conquest of India. Leaving Amyntas with a strong force, as his satrap in Bactria, he crossed the vast mountain range which guards the north of India, with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; and,

probably, following the track of the caravans between Persia and India, he reached the Cophen—a river formed by the junction of the waters of Cabul with those of the Pendjshir, flowing from the north-west. From this point he sent part of his army forward to the Indus, to prepare a bridge; while, with the remainder, he proceeded eastward, subduing the warlike tribes that held the mountains, and, taking possession of the fortresses and cities that opposed his march to the Indus. He embarked on that river in vessels which he built with the help of the natives; and joined the portion of his army which had prepared the bridge. Having safely landed on the eastern bank of the Indus, he offered solemn sacrifice. He appears to have remained some months at Taxila, a considerable city in the Penjâb—a district which took its name from the five rivers flowing through it to the Indus. The king of Taxila had previously formed an alliance with Alexander against another Indian prince, named Porus. Alexander, having informed himself of the state of the country, and received the submission of several Indian chiefs in the Penjâb, among others from a kinsman of Porus, bearing the same name, he marched towards the Hydaspes, the westernmost of the five rivers referred to, which lay between Taxila and the enemy of his ally. The boats from the Indus had been cut up and carried across the country, and Alexander was accompanied by the king of Taxila, and five thousand Indian soldiers.

321. The river, swollen by the summer rains, was nearly a mile broad; and, on the opposite side, Porus had assembled his army, with between three and four hundred elephants, to prevent his landing. After trying various stratagems, without success, Alexander at length, deceived the enemy by his movements. During a storm of rain and thunder, he crossed the river, in a small galley, with Ptolemy, Perdicas, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, followed by his cavalry, and by one division of his army. The Indians maintained a desperate fight: until the elephants, crowded in a small space, lost their drivers, and were turned back on their own ranks, whom they trampled under foot, or drove into a wild and confused flight. The bank being cleared of the enemy, the other division of Alexander's army now crossed the river; joined in the pursuit of the fugitives; took nine thousand prisoners, and eighty elephants; and slew twelve

thousand men, among whom were the chief officers of Porus, and his own sons. The prince himself turned his elephant to escape, only when he saw the utter rout of his army. He was soon overtaken; and brought into the presence of his conqueror. Alexander desired him to make some request. His only reply was, "Treat me as a king." Alexander restored him to his royal dignity; and then, he enlarged his territory, by adding to it the well-peopled and fertile valleys that joined it on the north.—To celebrate this victory, Alexander founded a city near the field, which he called Nicæa; and another, near the part of the river which he had crossed: to which he gave the name Bucephala, after his favourite horse, which had fallen in the battle.

322. The river Chenab was the next broad river in the Penjâb, beyond which, separated from it by a desolate track of country, was the Hydraotes, which Alexander crossed; and sending Hephæstion in pursuit of Porus, the kinsman of the king of Taxila, who had fled beyond this river, he himself advanced up the river with his cavalry against the Cathæans, who were assembled in the neighbourhood of Sangala (near the modern Lahore) to interrupt his progress. After storming the city, killing seventeen thousand, and taking seventy thousand prisoners, he avenged the wounds of several of his officers and twelve hundred of his men, by rasing the city to the ground; and then, dividing the territory among such of the neighbouring tribes as submitted to receive his garrisons into their towns.

323. The limit of this Indian expedition was the western bank of the Hyphasis, in which the streams of the Sutledj and the Beah unite, and which is the most eastern of the five rivers whose confluence forms the Indus. As his army refused to cross this river, the conqueror of the Penjâb then erected twelve massive altars, of Macedonian form, as trophies of his victory; and, having dedicated these altars to the gods, with the usual games and sacrifices, he added his Indian conquests to the dominions of Porus, who was now the lord of seven nations, and of two thousand cities. Returning westward, Alexander found a fleet, which he had ordered to be prepared for him, at Nicæa and at Bucephala. This fleet, partly collected by the natives of the country, and partly built by his followers from the Ægean, of timber from the forests near the head of the

river, consisted of two thousand vessels. He directed three divisions of his army to march along the banks, to meet him at an appointed place; and, with the remaining forces, he embarked, gliding down the stream to the sound of martial music, which was answered, along the lofty banks, by the barbarian crowds from all the neighbouring countries. During a navigation of seven months, he landed at several stations with his army, to make hostile attacks on the native tribes; to repair his vessels; or to build new ones; and, sometimes, to receive embassies from Indian princes, with offers of submission or alliance.

324. The most formidable opposition was from the Mallians. They were driven from the open country; and their towns were taken. They retired to their strongest fortress, situated on the side of a mountain, and defended by a narrow wall of great height on the outside, but much lower within. Alexander was himself the first to scale the wall. He stood for some minutes there, alone; exposed to the missiles of the enemy, before any of his followers could come to his assistance—for, in their eager crowding, they broke the ladders—he leaped suddenly into the midst of his assailants; and, leaning against a tree, he killed their chief and one of his companions, and defended himself, till three of his veteran officers saved him. One of them was wounded to death; and, as he fell, Alexander was pierced with an arrow in the right breast, and sank upon his shield, faint with the loss of blood. The two surviving officers stood over him, till some of the Macedonians, having climbed the walls and forced one of the gates, rushed in; rescued their king; and put every man, woman, and child, of the Mallians to death. On reaching his tent, Alexander directed Perdicas to open the wound with his sword, and to draw out the barbed weapon. The loss of blood was so great, that little hope was entertained of his life: the Macedonians would not believe that he was living, till he was sufficiently recovered to appear before them.

325. Descending the river, he built an arsenal at the chief city of the Sogdians. From this city, he proceeded southward into the interior as far as the luxuriant territory of Musicanus, where he built a fortress, and planted a garrison. To the west of this territory, he obtained possession of the treasure and the elephants of Sambus—a highland chief, who

fled from the capital of his dominions at the approach of the conqueror. While Alexander was storming the cities of Oxycanus, and seizing other towns, Musicanus had been incited to rebel against his new master by the Brahmins, whose zeal was inflamed by the footsteps of the unclean invader on the soil which they revered as holy. Both the prince and the Brahmins were crucified by Alexander.—The conquest of the countries watered by the Indus was finished by the voluntary surrender of the chief of Pattala, whose sway extended over the country through which the several branches of the great river fall into the sea. At the city of Pattala, he fortified a citadel, and committed to Hephæstion the charge of constructing a harbour. As these new works were advancing, Alexander descended the western branch of the Indus, and, having passed through many dangers from the want of a pilot during a gale, he at length reached the open sea; and, after offering sacrifices and libations to the god of the ocean, he returned by the same stream to Pattala. He then descended the eastern branch of the river, and, on his second return to Pattala, he sent Nearchus, the commander of his fleet, on a voyage of discovery from the Indus to the Persian gulf. Alexander left Nearchus and the fleet at Pattala waiting for the monsoon or trade-wind from the north-east, while the king led his army near the shores of the sandy desert, and through the regions of Carmania—so delightful from their contrast with the desert, that the march of Alexander's army has been converted into the fictitious tale of a continued festive procession. In this part of the expedition, he severely punished several of his chief officers who had been charged with violence and rapacity.

326. On the Carmanian coast, Nearchus landed, and brought an account of the perils of his voyage, and of its success. He was honoured by the king and the army in festivals, with which they commemorated the happy issue of the Indian expedition. Nearchus pursued his voyage to the Tigris. The main body of the army under Hephæstion boldly marched along the shore of the Persian gulf, and Alexander took the road by Persepolis to Susa. Here he employed himself in forming plans of future enterprise; in rectifying the disorders arising from the cruelty, treachery, or ambition of the satraps in various parts of his dominions; and in preparing for a succession of measures securing, in the first

instance, his personal independence, and, afterwards, the blending of his Greek and Asiatic subjects into one new people. It seems to have been as part of this latter scheme that he married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and that he induced his Macedonian generals to follow his example, by marrying ladies of the highest Median and Persian families. Similar marriages of Macedonians with Asiatic women were encouraged generally in the army, by granting portions, from the royal treasury, to the brides. A hundred officers, and ten thousand private soldiers, were included in the list of names taken on the occasion. The royal nuptials were celebrated by a festival which continued for five days, exhibiting the pomp of Asiatic luxury, and the elegance of Grecian taste.

327. These splendid entertainments were preceded or followed by a scene of a very different kind, as new to the Persians as it was to the Greeks. The army was accompanied from India by Calanus, an aged man, one of the philosophers of that country, who had won the esteem of the officers, and even of the king. On approaching Susa, he was seized, for the first time, by sickness. He begged that Alexander would direct a funeral pile to be prepared for him, as it was his purpose to die a voluntary death, according to the custom of his country. A pile of aromatic woods was prepared. Alexander sent him presents of gold and silver vessels, costly garments, and precious gems. The old man took leave of his friends by dividing among them the royal gifts; and he requested them to spend the rest of the day in mirth. The army formed a circle round the pile, on which he laid himself down, and they raised their loud shout, mingled with the yell of elephants, and the clangour of trumpets, when the pile was lighted.

328. The consent of the Macedonians to the oriental alliances induced Alexander to gain further on their good will, by bestowing liberal rewards on those who had distinguished themselves in the service; and also by paying the debts of every one of his soldiers. Soon after this, a body of thirty thousand Asiatic youths, who had been trained in the Greek language, and in the Macedonian discipline, were embodied with the army. The veteran troops were jealous of this innovation; and murmurs of dissatisfaction and resentment soon ran through the army. While they were in this state of

irritation, Alexander conducted them to Opis, on the banks of the Tigris. He there told them that he intended to send the aged and the wounded among them to their homes, and to make their condition there such as would induce others of their countrymen to join him. The suspicious Macedonians saw in this offer only a device for filling their places with the barbarians, and a cry ran along the ranks; "He may dismiss us all, and go to war with the help of the god he boasts of as his father." Alexander immediately ordered his guards to lead away to execution thirteen men, whom he marked as leaders in this disturbance. His vigorous resolution subdued the whole army. He reminded them of what his father had done for Macedonia, and what he himself had done for them; and he ended by saying: "Go home; and tell them that, after triumphs such as no conqueror ever gained before, you have left your king to be guarded by the barbarians he subdued. You may be lauded by men, for your fidelity; and, for your piety, the gods may reward you. Away!"—He hastily left them, and shut himself up for two days. On the third day, he sent for the principal Persian officers, and told them he intended for the future to be served only by the troops of Asia. The Macedonians rushed to the palace gates, and, with humble supplication, cast themselves on the clemency of their king. The king came out to them, and they were reconciled.

329. The disbanded veterans, ten thousand in number, were conducted home by Craterus, who was appointed to supersede Antipater, as the regent in Macedonia. After their departure, Alexander went through Media, partly, with a view to gratify the Medians, by residing for a while in their capital; but, at the same time, to gather information, and to settle grave affairs relating to the finances and the government of the country. Whilst celebrating an ancient festival with extraordinary splendour, he was thrown into violent grief by the death of Hephestion. The honours paid to the memory of his deceased friend extended to the furthest limits of the empire. The signs of mourning were universal. The funeral at Babylon was on a scale of magnificence which astonished the beholders.

330. To rouse Alexander from his melancholy, his officers persuaded him to go out against the mountaineers, called Cossæans, who came from their strongholds, between Persia

and Media, to ravage the neighbouring countries. These wild men were hunted in the depths of winter, and cut to pieces. From these mountains Alexander took his last journey to Babylon. As he approached the city, he was met by a procession of priests, who sought, by superstitious omens, to discourage him from entering the city. But, believing that they were concerned for their own safety rather than for his, he disregarded their warnings. At Babylon, he continued his preparations for a new expedition to the Caspian; received ambassadors from all nations; improved the navigation of the Euphrates; and founded a new city on the shore.—In preparation for his intended expedition, he gave a banquet to his officers, and continued drinking till a late hour of the night. After a second night, spent in the same manner, he felt the symptoms of a fever. For six days, he continued apparently insensible of his danger, notwithstanding the numerous presages which had depressed his spirits. On the seventh day, he lost his speech; but he was able to make signs to the men of his army, as they passed in silent procession through his chamber. He drew a ring from his finger; gave it to Perdicas; and then breathed his last.

331. On the character of Alexander many volumes have been written. He was one of the most ambitious of men; and he possessed the most marvellous powers of mind and body for gratifying that ambition. In prosecuting his objects, he was as just, liberal, and humane, as other great conquerors. His plans were laid with deep sagacity, and executed with promptitude and energy. His personal character was stained with the vices of his country, of his class, and of his age; and his rapid and dazzling career, while it inflicted on mankind the numberless evils and miseries of war, was, on the whole, beneficial to the interests of the human race. He diffused knowledge; he planted cities; he extended commerce; he encouraged art; and, in the brief space of thirteen years, he carried the lights of intellectual and social improvement through the fairest regions of the earth.—It is not easy to say how far he was competent to rule, in peace, the nations he had subdued by war. He established no institutions for securing any political rights to his subjects. The benefits which Greece derived from his prodigious conquests were slight in comparison with the loss of free-

dom and independence, which reduced her to the level of an Asiatic province.

332. We may liken the history of Alexander to one of those great convulsions in nature which have occurred at distant intervals, covering the earth with ruins, but spreading the soil and the germs of many a harvest and vintage over the ruins they have made. That he was an agent in accomplishing the Divine purposes it would be impious to deny; but we are not to imagine that this truth has anything to do with his motives or with his character. With such a man it is scarcely possible to compare any other. In the order to which he belonged we do not know that history has shown his equal. While we trace his course from stage to stage, we are struck with the amazing amount of labour through which he passed; perhaps the most useful lesson we can gather from the record of those labours is, that it is only by order, patience, and entire devotion to the object, that anything great can be accomplished. There are objects as great, as difficult, as much demanding energy and perseverance, as the conquest of an empire: happily they may be effected without dealing a wound, or committing a crime; and, unlike the trophies of the Macedonian, which have nearly all vanished, they may last for ages. To such objects we are called by the religion which was unknown to Alexander, but whose light is shining upon us. Having become, by penitence and faith in Christ, the willing subjects of Him who alone has either the right, the power, or the wisdom to be the universal sovereign, the path marked out for us is that of obedience to commands which are always just, from motives of love to Him, who so loved us as to give his Son to die for us. In following that path, there is scope for the exercise of every kind of talent which is really excellent: there is scope, moreover, for affections which we can scarcely hope had any place, for the most part, in the bosom of Alexander,—compassion for the ignorant, sorrow for the mourner, and sympathy with the oppressed.

333. It is a proof of our fallen nature that history is so much made up of facts which foster the admiration of the great, rather than the imitation of the good. The imagination is thus entertained; while the heart is in danger of being made worse.—Yet such is not the neces-

sary effect of knowing where men have been, and what they have done. We may apply sound principles: we may judge of men, and of their actions, coolly, impartially, and with the practical determination to benefit by the conclusions to which we are led. If we thus judge, from the materials before us, of Alexander and of his actions, we shall not refuse to his memory the praise that is due to so illustrious a man; at the same time, we can see that, in the midst of splendour, he was not happy: that, with all his self-command in war, he was rendered miserable by his private passions; and that he degraded his rank, and shortened his life, by the degrading vice of drunkenness. We can lament what we must not admire, and what we dare not imitate. The miseries of princes and their faults may reconcile us to the obscurity which defends us from many of their temptations. By following the light of Divine truth, we may wield a power more resistless than the Macedonian phalanx, and wear a brighter crown than Alexander's. To heat down armies is not so truly grand as to impart the knowledge which leads to perfect happiness. Henry Martyn did more for Persia than Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GREECE UNDER ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

Division of government—Antipater—Craterus—Trial of Ctesiphon—Orations of Echolines and Demosthenes—Antipater's attempt on Leosthenes, near Platrea, Samia—Munychia—Arcelus—Antipater returns to Macedonia—Death—Phocion—Demades—Polysperchon—Cassander—War between Antigonus and Cassander—Treaty of peace—Murder of young Alexander and his mother—Demetrius—Siege of Munychia—Ptolemy—Return of Demetrius to Athens—Lyfmachus—Siege of Athens by Demetrius—Defeats the Spartans—Subdues Thessaly—Death—War between Antigonus and Pyrrhus—Revival of the Achæan League—Aratus—Cleomenes—War declared against Sparta—Changes made by Cleomenes—Surrender of Argos—Invasion of Argolis—Accession of Philip the Third—Death of Cleomenes—Aggressions of the Ætolians—Engagement at Caphysa—Victorious adventures—Treaty with the Carthaginians—Cycliades—Philip's ambition—Results—Flamininus—Battle of Cynoccephalus—Antiochus—Capture of Gythium—Attack on Nubias—Encounter with the Romans—Death of Philopœmon—Antigonus put to death—Perseus—Dissolution of the Boeotian League—Perseus defeats the Roman army in Thessaly—Followed by several acts of rapacity against the Greeks—Roman invasion of Macedonia—Æmilius Paulus—Plutarch's Description of Perseus—Ten Commissioners—Death of Perseus—Last of the Macedonian monarchs—And fall of that empire—Moral observations—Prophecy of Daniel—Explanation.

334. On the death of Alexander, the government of this vast empire was divided among his generals. In this dis-

tribution, Macedon and Greece devolved on Antipater, whom Alexander had left as his regent; and on Craterus, who had been sent by Alexander to supersede him. During Alexander's eastern expedition, Antipater had defeated the Spartan king, Agis, and his confederates of Achaia, Elcia, and Arcadia, in their attempt to deliver the Peloponnesians from the government of Macedonia. It was but a short time before Alexander's death that Craterus was sent by Alexander to take Antipater's place.

335. At Athens, it has been seen, there were two parties; one, favoured by Æschines, the friend of Philip and of Alexander; and the other led by Demosthenes. We have seen, in a former chapter, that, notwithstanding the failure of the plan of Demosthenes by the battle of Chaeronea, he still retained his influence at Athens. Even so early as before the death of Philip, Æschines had brought charges against Demosthenes, which had slept for seven or eight years; but these charges were revived, at the time when Alexander's glory was at its greatest height. The trial assumed the form of a charge against Ctesiphon, who had procured a decree in the Athenian assembly, that Demosthenes should have a golden crown, as a mark of their approval of his public conduct. Æschines accused Ctesiphon of breaking the law—in the manner of procuring this decree; but especially—in assigning false reasons for it. This accusation led to the famous orations of Æschines and Demosthenes for the crown. Demosthenes gained the cause; and Æschines left Athens.—The spirit of opposition to Philip was maintained against Alexander, and, likewise, against Antipater. Before Alexander's death, the Athenians had, for various reasons, made preparations for war. They were disgusted with what they regarded as the arrogance of Alexander, in demanding that they should render divine honours to him. They were, moreover, offended and alarmed by his decree, permitting all the Greek exiles to return to their several homes. Some of the disbanded Greek mercenaries from the east, brought home by the Athenian Leosthenes, increased the dissatisfaction.

336. The death of Alexander opened to the Athenians, on the one hand, the hope that, in the dismemberment of his vast empire, they might recover their freedom; and to Antipater, on the other hand, it opened the prospect of establish-

ing his own dominion over the province which had been allotted to him. The Athenians declared themselves ready to assert the liberties of Greece; armed the citizens; equipped a fleet; and sent embassies to all the principal states. Sparta, Arcadia, and Achaia refused to join them; but Messene, Elis, Sicyon, Philins, Epidaurus, Troezen, and Argos, entered into the Athenian confederacy; and a large armament was placed under the command of Leosthenes. Alarmed at these preparations, Antipater, having failed in an attempt to gain time by proposals of peace, marched against Leosthenes; but he was defeated, first, near Platœa, and, afterwards, near Samia, on the south side of Mount Othrys. These victories elated the Athenians. The orators who had favoured the Macedonian party fell into disgrace. Demosthenes, who had been banished on a charge of bribery, left his retreat in Ægina, and joined the envoys from Athens to other states, and was so successful, that he was recalled; and he was received on his landing at Piræus by a procession of priests and magistrates, who conducted him, as in triumph, to the city.

337. But a dark cloud soon came over these reviving prospects of Greece. Leosthenes was killed at the siege of Samia, and his command devolved on Antiphilus. The Ætolians had left the army of the confederates, and others had followed their example. With diminished forces, Antiphilus gained a third victory in Thessaly; but the Athenian fleet was vanquished by the Macedonian admiral Clitus; and Antipater, now reinforced by the arrival of his colleague Craterus, defeated the Grecian army near the Peneus, broke up their league, and marched towards Athens. While encamped on the site of Thebes, Antipater received embassies from the Athenians, and entered into alliance with them, on condition that they should give up Demosthenes, and the other orators who had opposed him; should deprive the poorer citizens of their freedom; and, besides paying the cost of the war, should receive a Macedonian garrison into the harbour of Munychia. The citizens who lost their freedom were permitted to wander into Thrace. Before the arrival of the garrison, the condemned orators took flight to Ægina, and from thence took different directions. Demosthenes withdrew to the temple of Neptune, in the isle of Calauræa, near Troezen. To that sanctuary he was

followed by Archias, an Italian Greek player in the service of Antipater, who found him seated in the temple. After a few words, the great orator took poison which he had concealed in the reed with which he wrote; walked towards the door of the temple; and, near the altar, fell and died. Long after, a statue was raised to his memory at Athens with the inscription :—“ *Had thine arm, Demosthenes, been as strong as thy spirit, Greece would not have fallen under the yoke of the stranger.*”

338. Antipater returned with Craterus to Macedonia. In a subsequent war against the Ætolians, they had nearly subdued that people, when they were called away by the troubles which now arose among the successors of Alexander in the east. In the midst of those troubles, Craterus was slain in battle. Antipater died of age and sickness. — The affairs of Athens, after the peace, were conducted by Phocion. Just before the death of Antipater, Demades, accompanied by his son, was sent from Athens to entreat that the garrison might be removed from Munychia. In the presence of Antipater, a letter was produced, in which Demades had ridiculed and betrayed his benefactor. He was accused of this treachery by Dinarchus, a friend of Phocion. The guards led him and his son to a dungeon, where they were both put to death. Antipater, when dying, appointed Polysperchon, one of Alexander's generals, to succeed him. Cassander, Antipater's son, while professing to submit to the will of his father, employed secret means to secure his own interests; and, among others, sent one of his friends to take the command of the Macedonian garrison at Munychia. Polysperchon, entangled in great difficulties, resolved on sending a rescript, in the name of Philip, who succeeded his half-brother, Alexander the Great, in the title of king, by which he hoped to effect a popular revolution in Greece. Accompanied by Philip, he repaired to Greece. Phocion was brought to trial and condemned to die.

339. Cassander, Antipater's son, arrived in Greece, took possession of Piræus, and scoured a large party at Megalopolis, which resisted the power of Polysperchon. He then entered into a treaty with the Athenians, by which they were to retain their revenues, territory, and ships, to lower the standard of their franchise, to continue the Macedonian garrison at Munychia, and to receive a governor into the city.

appointed by Cassander. The next two years were occupied by Cassander with affairs in Asia and in Macedonia. He defeated the plots of Polysperchon with the family of Alexander, and, by putting Olympias, Alexander's mother, to death, he became entire master of Macedonia. He married Thessalonice, Alexander's half-sister; and he founded a city in the peninsula of Pallene, which, after himself, he named Cassandrea. During this time, Polysperchon and his son had been strengthening themselves in Greece. To crush these rivals, Cassander forced a passage through Thermopylæ; gave orders for the rebuilding of Thebes; and from Megara crossed over to Epidaurus, from whence he marched to Argos, Hermione, and Messenia. While attempting to reduce the strong city of Ithomé, he was recalled by the urgency of his affairs to Macedonia, leaving Molyens at Geranea, and Apollonides at Argos. On his return, he ravaged the territory of Corinth, and destroyed the party opposed to him in Orchomennus; and, after another unsuccessful attempt to reduce Ithome, departed again for Macedonia.

340. Afterwards, Greece became the theatre of war between Cassander and Antigonus, which ended in a treaty of peace. Soon after this treaty, Cassander ordered the murder of the young king Alexander, then sixteen years old, and of Roxana, his mother. This young king was son of Alexander the Great, born a few months after his father's death. During his childhood, the empire had been ruled in his name, along with that of Philip his uncle, by Perdiccas, under the title of Protector. After the death of Perdiccas, in Egypt, this office was administered by Antipater, and then by Polysperchon. Antigonus, a son of Philip, an early friend of Antipater, whom Alexander had appointed satrap of Phrygia, had disclaimed the royal authority, and, by various wars and stratagems had become the head of the empire. His son, Demetrius, went, at the head of a great armament, to Greece; took Munychia; restored the democracy in Athens; and expelled the garrison left by Cassander. From the Athenians he received, both for his father and for himself, the most extravagant honours. Demetrius was ordered by his father to leave Greece for the conquest of Cyprus from his rival Ptolemy, who ruled over the province of Egypt. After the victory gained by

Demetrius over Ptolemy in Cyprus, Antigonus assumed the diadem and the title of king; he bestowed the same title on his victorious son. The example was followed by his rivals and allies in Egypt, and in Asia. In the hope of destroying the power of Ptolemy in Egypt, Antigonus invaded that country with a vast army, while Demetrius conducted the fleet along the Syrian coast; but Ptolemy repulsed them.

311. In this war, the Rhodians had refused to aid Demetrius. To punish them for this refusal, he besieged their city; but after the most extraordinary exertions on both sides, he retired from the war without depriving the Rhodians of their independence. During the absence of Demetrius at Rhodes, Cassander had laid siege to Athens; but, as soon as Demetrius approached, he made his escape towards the north, where he was followed by Demetrius, who defeated him in a battle near Thermopylæ. The return of Demetrius to Athens was followed by scenes of debauchery on his part, and of servile flattery on the part of the Athenians, which were alike degrading and disgusting. In the following year, Demetrius proceeded against the forces of his rivals in the Peloponnesus. After a series of conquests in nearly all parts of southern Greece, he was appointed to the office formerly decreed to Philip and to Alexander, commander of all the forces of Greece. His next undertaking was in Thessaly, where he drove Cassander's garrison from Phæræ; but he was called away by his father, to join him in the war which he was waging with Lysimachus, in the north of Asia Minor. In the meanwhile, the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire had submitted to Seleucus, who came at the head of a powerful army to the help of Lysimachus. At Ipsus, in Phrygia, a decisive battle was fought by Seleucus and Lysimachus on one side, and by Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, at the head of nearly equal forces. In this battle, Antigonus fell beneath a shower of darts, at the age of eighty; Demetrius fled to Ephesus, and thence to Greece, where the Athenians refused to admit him into their city. The dominions of Antigonus were shared by his conquerors; Cassander retained Macedonia. Demetrius, though repulsed from Athens, recovered his ships and his money, and retained under his command an army of five thousand

foot and four thousand horse; with which he ravaged the coast of the Thracian Chersonesus, took possession of Cilicia, and proceeded thence to Rhodus, in Syria, to join Seleucus, who had sought his daughter Stratonice in marriage.

342. The death of Cassander now opened to Demetrius the prospect of recovering his ascendancy in Greece. He lost no time in laying siege to Athens, which, after much suffering, received him within her gates, and gave him the command of the harbours of Munychia and Piræus. Having secured Athens, he marched against the Spartans, whom he defeated in two successive actions, and he was on the point of taking their city, when he suddenly departed to Macedonia. The state of affairs in Macedonia was this:—The younger son of Antipater headed a civil war against his elder brother Antipater, who had, with his own hand, murdered their mother Thessalonice. Alexander sought help from Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and from Demetrius. Before the arrival of Demetrius, Alexander had succeeded in securing half of the kingdom of Macedonia. Alexander was murdered, under the suspicion that he had designs on the life of Demetrius. Demetrius vindicated his own conduct to the Macedonian army; and he was raised to Alexander's throne.

343. Returning to Greece, Demetrius subdued the Thessalians to his sway, conquered the Bœotians, and placed a garrison within the walls of Athens. After several military movements in Macedonia, he made peace with Pyrrhus, and made vast preparations for an expedition in Asia. These preparations awoke the jealousy of Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, who induced Pyrrhus to break his treaty with Demetrius, and to join their confederacy. From various points, they invaded Macedonia. Demetrius, deserted by the Macedonians, who transferred the royal diadem to Pyrrhus, escaped first to Cassandrea, and from thence to Greece. There new disasters awaited him. The Athenians revolted from him, and invited Pyrrhus to their city. After making a fresh treaty with Pyrrhus, who soon returned to Macedonia, Demetrius collected all his forces and crossed over into Asia, where he fell into the hands of Seleucus, who placed him under restraints in Syria, where he died, at the age of fifty-five. His ashes were sent in a

golden urn, by Seleucus, to Greece. On their passage they were met in the *Ægean*, by Antigonus, son of Demetrius, who conducted them, with funeral pomp, to Corinth.

344. The death of Demetrius was soon followed by important changes. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, resigned his dominion to his son, Ptolemy Ceraunus. Lysimachus was slain in battle in Phrygia. Seleucus was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who took possession of the dominion of Lysimachus, north of Macedonia. Ceraunus bought the alliance of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, defeated Antigonus, son of Demetrius at sea, and gained the mastery of Macedonia; but he lost his life in the invasion of the Celts. These barbarous hordes were driven back by the Greeks from *Thermopylæ*. Though they inflicted dreadful cruelties on the *Ætolians*, they were chased from their territory, and scared away from Delphi, as the Persians had been two hundred years before.

345. A few months after this expulsion of the Celts, Antigonus, restored to the throne of Macedonia, was soon embroiled in a war with Pyrrhus, who, with the aid of the Celts, drove him from his kingdom. Pyrrhus had scarcely seated himself on the Macedonian throne, when he was invited by one of the Spartan princes of the royal house to invade that country; but, compelled to relinquish the hopes of gaining Sparta, he laid siege to Argos, where he was killed by a woman, who saw him in close combat with her son, and who hurled a heavy tile on him from a house-top.—While Pyrrhus was engaged in Greece, Antigonus recovered the cities of Macedonia! After the death of Pyrrhus, the Macedonians in that prince's army appear to have joined Antigonus. Yet a power, of which Antigonus was little aware, had been gathering strength for many years: this was the famed *Achæan League*—the revival of an ancient institution for the defence of the cities of *Achaia*. Antigonus had allayed the troubles that surrounded him in Macedonia, and had conquered Athens, when Aratus, a prince of Sicyon, having overthrown the tyrant of his native city, joined the *Achæan League*, and, in a short time, became its general. By a course of successful battles, sieges, and stratagems, Aratus gained possession of Corinth, Megara, Trœzen, and Epidaurus, and marched against Argos; but, after long-continued attempts, some-

times nearly successful, he was obliged to make his escape from that city. He prevailed on the Spartans to join the Achæan League, in opposition to Antigonus and the Ætolians. Though the Spartans soon returned home in disgust at the cautious policy of the league, Aratus repelled Antigonus from Achaia, and forced him to enter into a treaty with the league, which continued until his death, four years after.—Antigonus was succeeded by his son, Demetrius the second, who invaded Greece, and engaged in an unsuccessful war with the Ætolians on behalf of the widow of Alexander of Epirus.

346. The Ætolians, now separated from the interests of Macedonia, joined the Achæan League; and their example was followed, though not very rapidly, by the tyrants of Megalopolis. Aratus, defeated by a Macedonian general in Thessaly, hastily returned to Corinth, and was with difficulty prevented by the eloquence of the Athenians from damaging their city, in revenge of the joy they had expressed at his defeat, and at the report of his death. On the death of Demetrius, the government of his son, eight years old, was administered by a kinsman known in history as Antigonus Doson. The time of his accession to power was marked by the great prominence resumed by Sparta in the affairs of Greece.

347. The sixth king in the line of Agcsilaus, whose exploits have been recorded in a preceding chapter, was Agis the Fourth. His colleague was Leonidas. Leonidas was addicted to the eastern luxuries which wealth had introduced into Sparta. Agis, a man of plainer habits, was resolved on a great reform, for the purpose of restoring the discipline and manners of the old time; but, his plans being opposed by Leonidas, violent feuds arose, which continued till the death of both the kings.

348. Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, was married to the widow of Agis. The contest of this prince with the Achæan League, for the lead in the affairs of the Peloponnesus, began in the tenth year of his reign, which was the time when Antigonus Doson was on the throne of Macedonia. In attempting to invade Greece, Antigonus saw his fleet stranded on the Boeotian coast, and Aratus availed himself of this disaster, and other difficulties of the Macedonian king, to push the power of the league on the

southern states of Greece. The Athenians, though they did not join the league, applied for the help of Aratus, who bribed the Macedonian general to withdraw the troops under his command from Attica. Ægina, Hermione, and Phlius, entered the league. This confederacy was also greatly strengthened by the adhesion of the tyrant of Argos. The accession of Megalopolis to the league had provoked the hostility of Sparta; and Cleomenes had no difficulty in persuading the government to consent to his meeting Aratus at the head of a Spartan army in Arcadia. War against Sparta was declared by the league; and Aratus undertook an expedition into Elis. The Eleans sought the help of Sparta; and Cleomenes routed the Achæan army, on their return. After this, Cleomenes defeated the army of the league again, near Megalopolis, in Arcadia. Encouraged by these successes, he carried out the views which Agis had been forced to abandon, and effected a total revolution in the government of Sparta. He abolished the office of the Ephori; cancelled all debts; made an equal distribution of lands, throwing his private wealth into the common stock; admitted foreigners to the franchise, restored the ancient discipline; and made his own brother, Euclides, his colleague in the kingly office.

349. In the year after this Spartan revolution, Cleomenes, with whom the Ætolians were now associated, again took the field, invaded the territory of Megalopolis, and rescued Mantinea from the Achæan garrison. He then penetrated into Achaia; and, having gained a complete victory at Hecatombeon, demanded that he should be acknowledged as the head of the Achæan League. The demand was accepted by the Achæan council; but, as Cleomenes was compelled by illness to return immediately to Sparta, time was afforded for Aratus to carry on intrigues, which he had sometime before commenced, for the purpose of bringing Antigonus, the king of Macedon, into the Peloponnesus against the Spartan king. It would appear that, at the suggestion of Aratus, the Achæan League had sent envoys, representing to Antigonus the dangers threatened to Greece by the movements of the Ætolians, and by the ambition of Cleomenes. Antigonus was disposed to negotiate with them, on condition that Corinth should be restored to him. When Cleomenes had recovered

his health, he repaired to Argos, which surrendered to him—together with the rest of the Argolic cities—and then he proceeded to Corinth, which he blockaded; and, finding Aratus unwilling to negotiate with him, ravaged the territory of Sicyon, and encamped before the city walls. At this time, the Achæan League held an assembly at Ægium, at which it was resolved that Corinth should be given up to Antigonus. That monarch was encouraged by the revolt of Argos; and, having gained possession of Corinth, he met the league at Ægium, was appointed commander of the allied forces, and took up his winter quarters at Sicyon and Corinth. In the following spring, he compelled Tegea to surrender; placed a Macedonian garrison in Orchomenus; gave Mantinea to Argos; and conquered the cities on the western side of Arcadia. Cleomenes, in these difficulties, succeeded, after one unsuccessful attempt, in gaining possession of Megalopolis, and, in the following year, invaded Argolis; but Antigonus having invaded Laconia, Cleomenes returned to defend the passes of the border, and entrenched himself at Sellasia, where, after a desperate battle with Antigonus, he was defeated, and made his escape to Alexandria. The conqueror advanced to Sparta, and reversed the state of things which Cleomenes had recently brought about. Returning to Macedonia, to repel an invasion by the Illyrians, Antigonus fell sick and died. Before his death, he had adopted his nephew, a youth of seventeen, who succeeded him on the throne, with the title of Philip the Third. Cleomenes had remained in a state of inactivity at the court of the Egyptian king in Alexandria; where, though received at first with favour, he became an object of royal jealousy, and was strictly guarded. He attempted to make his escape with a small party of friends; but, failing in the attempt, he fell by his own sword.

350. After the death both of Cleomenes and of Antigonus, Greece enjoyed a brief repose from war. But that repose was soon disturbed by the activity and aggressions of the Ætolians. Among many other depredations, they invaded Messenia. The Messenians implored the protection of the Achæan League. Aratus, now in command, was defeated in an engagement with the Ætolians at Caphyræ. After this defeat, he prevailed on the Achæan League to receive the Messenians, and again to invite the

nid of Macedonia. Philip secured the fidelity of the Spartans; and he headed the Achæan League, in what has been called the Social War. He induced the Illyrian prince to join him in opposition to the Ætolians. At the head of a large army, he marched from Thessaly into Epirus; and while he was helping the Epirots in a war of their own against Ambracia, the Ætolians made inroads on his own dominions. Leaving Ambracia, he invaded Ætolia, and, in the depth of winter, he surprised and defeated the Ætolian general; plundered the vale; conquered the stronghold of Elis; and forced the Triphylians and the Phigalians to submit to him.—In the midst of these victorious adventures, the intrigues of Apelles—one of the principal counsellors under the will of his uncle, Antigonus—raised a powerful conspiracy against the young king; which, however, he detected, and crushed by putting the leaders to death. While prosecuting the war with the Ætolians, in which he was much hindered by the treachery of the conspirators, his attention was called to the proceedings of the Romans and Carthaginians in Italy and Sicily, as deeply affecting his own prospects; and he was induced to make peace with the Ætolians; and then returned to defend Macedonia from the incursions of the Illyrians, whose king, Scerdilædus, had formed an alliance with the Romans. After Hannibal had defeated the Romans, at the battle of Cannæ, Philip entered into a defensive and offensive treaty with the Carthaginians.

351. The Roman senate sent a fleet to watch Philip's movements. His first encounter with the Romans, at Apollonica, was disastrous. As Aratus opposed his policy, he caused him to be destroyed, by slow poison. The Romans induced the Ætolians, together with Elis and Sparta, to form an alliance with them; and to declare war against Philip. Galba, the Roman commander, having conquered Ægina, gave it to the Ætolians. The Achæans, harassed by the Ætolians, Eleans, and Spartans, had recourse to Philip. Philip was induced to help them, as they were now headed by Philopœmon, an Arcadian of high family in Megalopolis, of great experience in war, who had brought their army to a high state of discipline; and he was the more ready to form this alliance, as Attalus, king of Pergamus, had been chosen chief magistrate of the

Ætolians, and was believed to be near at hand. On his way to Phalara, on the Malian gulf, he defeated the enemy in two engagements. A negotiation with the Ætolians was broken off; and Philip drove away the Romans from the territories of Sicyon and Corinth. In attempting to wrest Elis from the Ætolians, though he gained some advantage over them, he was unexpectedly engaged with Galba, and the Romans. Charging them at the head of his cavalry, his horse was killed under him; and, after fighting some time on foot, he mounted another horse, and made his escape. The following day, he took a stronghold, where four thousand people of the country had taken shelter, with twenty thousand head of cattle. But he was called away to Macedonia; for the Dardanians, who had heard a report of his death, were invading his dominions. When he had departed, Galba went to Attalus at Ægina—which island Attalus had bought from the Ætolians for thirty talents.

352. The next year opened on Philip with darkening prospects, on every hand. The Romans were ready to attack him by sea on the east, and the Ætolians on the west; while the Illyrians were watching the opportunity of his absence, to invade Macedonia. He made such preparations as he could, to secure his power at Eubœa. The combined fleet of Attalus and Galba, arrived at that island, bribed the commander of the Macedonian garrison at Oreus, and took possession of the town, before Philip had time to reach it. After many movements by all parties, the Ætolians would have concluded the war, but they were abandoned by the Romans. Philopœmon, raised to the office of general of the Achæan League, pursued his reforms with such energy that, in a few months, he raised an army, with which he defeated the Spartans at Mantinea; slew Machanidas, the usurper of the throne; and plundered their country.—This victory rendered the Achæans independent of Philip. Not long after, a general peace was concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides were included.

353. During some years of peace, the throne of Sparta had been usurped by Nabis, who, gathering around him the refuse of mankind, put to death or banished the most eminent citizens, and carried on a system of robbery

throughout Peloponnesus. It was in the fourth year of the general peace, that he advanced on Bœotia and the territories of Megalopolis. By the speedy succour brought by Philopœmon, he was forced to withdraw from Messene; but when Philopœmon was absent in Crete, Nabis carried on his devastations with such fury, that the Achæan League was aroused to resist him. Philip offered to carry the war to Sparta; but, on his requiring that, at the same time, the forces of the league should garrison his towns of Chalcis, Obsus, and Corinth, Cycliades, the general of the league, evaded the proposal by alleging that these matters were foreign to the business on which the league was met to deliberate.

354. The ambition of Philip involved him in fresh troubles, by annoying the allies of Rome; by joining with Antiochus of Syria, in a plan for dividing between them the dominions of Ptolemy Philopater, who left as his heir, Epiphanes, only four or five years old; and by cruel and treacherous assaults on the Rhodians, on the territories of Attalus, near Pergamus, and on several islands of the Ægean Sea. Complaints against Philip were carried to Rome, and the Romans, now at peace with Carthage, declared war against him. The Athenians likewise were provoked by the incursions of the Macedonians to declare war. Philip attacked Athens, and laid waste their beautiful city, and the adjacent territory. In the war between Philip and the Romans, the Ætolians were at first neutral, but the Dardanians, and Illyrians, Attalus of Pergamus, and the Rhodians allied themselves to the Romans; and, after they had gained some important victories against Philip, the Ætolians also declared war against him. The Romans had made but slow progress when Flamininus, the consul, selected eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse from the veterans who had served in Africa or in Spain, obtained the command of the fleet for his brother Lucius; and, as soon as his preparations were completed, appeared before Philip, who occupied a fortified position on the banks of the Aous.

355. After defeating Philip in a battle, Flamininus was unable, from the difficult nature of the country, to follow up his victory, so that the Macedonian king escaped, plundering and destroying the towns of Thessaly on his march to his

own country. Meanwhile, the Roman fleet had joined those of Attalus and the Rhodians, had captured Eretria and Chalcis, in Eubœa, and were preparing to lay siege to Corinth. It was thought desirable by the Roman allies to make an attempt at this time to gain the Achæan League to their side. An assembly for considering this proposal was held at Sicyon, at which ambassadors from Philip were present. When the inclination of the league appeared favourable to Rome, the Dymœans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives, who were strongly attached to Philip, withdrew; the rest of the assembly consented to the alliance. Not long after, Philip and Flaminius had a meeting near Nicœa, in the Malian gulf, which ended in a truce of two months, and the sending of an embassy from Philip to Rome. Flaminius and the allies sent their envoys first, and showed the senate that Greece never could be independent of Philip, while he held the three towns, Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrius, which "were the fetters of Greece." The ambassadors of Philip were dismissed with the intelligence that the terms of peace were left to Flaminius.

356. Having received the support of the Roman senate, Flaminius refused to treat with Philip on any terms that were not based on acknowledging the entire independence of Greece. The Romans obtained help from Argos, through the treachery of Nabis, to whose charge Philip had confided that city. They, likewise, gained the mastery of Thebes, and had reasons for expecting Corinth to desert Philip.

357. Philip at length resolved to meet the Persians near Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly; where he was defeated with a loss of eight thousand slain, and five thousand taken prisoners. With the loss of this battle fell the monarchy of Macedonia. Philip agreed to give up to the Romans the towns he held in Greece, and all his ships of war except his state galley and five boats; to pay a thousand talents; and to acknowledge the freedom of all the Greeks in Europe and in Asia.

358. The celebration of the Isthmian games near Corinth was the time chosen for the Roman herald to proclaim to the multitudes gathered from all parts of Greece,—"That the Roman senate and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, having overcome king Philip and the Macedonians, give liberty to the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians,

Eubœans, Achæans of Phthia, Magnes, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians, with exemption from garrison and from tribute, and permission to govern themselves by their own laws." By those who heard it, this was regarded as restoring the independence of Greece, and their rejoicing was boundless. The Ætolians, and probably many more, including the most thoughtful men in Greece, observed that the towns which Philip had called the "fettters of Greece," were delivered to the Romans, and that the intention of the senate was, to keep them in their own power.

359. We have lately had occasion to mention Antiochus of Syria, as joining Philip in a plan for dividing between them the dominions of the deceased king of Egypt. After the defeat of Philip in Greece, Antiochus was visited by Roman commissioners, who reported what they saw and heard to the senate.

360. That they might be prepared for the war with Antiochus, which was plainly approaching, it was resolved to increase the attachment of the Greeks, by rescuing Argos from the tyranny of Nabis. As Argos held out against the joint forces of the Romans and the Achæans, it was resolved not to besiege Argos, but to attack Nabis, in Sparta. After devastating Laconia, and capturing Gythium, the seaport of that territory, Flamininus forced Nabis to accept humiliating conditions of peace; and, during these proceedings, the Argives repelled the Spartan garrison, and asserted the freedom of their city. The treaty with Nabis was confirmed by the Roman senate. Flamininus took leave of the deputies from the allied cities of Greece at Corinth; withdrew the Roman garrisons from the Acro-Corinthus and other parts of Greece; and, having settled the affairs of Thessaly in agreement with the plan of the Achæan League, he left the grateful and admiring Greeks to receive the well-deserved honours of a triumph at Rome.

361. The Ætolians had long been cherishing hatred towards the Romans; and, after the departure of Flamininus, they persuaded Nabis to lay siege to Gythium. This aroused the Achæan League, now commanded by Philopœmon, to action; and the Romans were again called into the field. Nabis was killed by the treachery of Alexa-

menus, a general sent to the aid of the Ætolians by Antiochus.—After the death of Nabis, Sparta joined the Achæan League, in alliance with the Romans. War was declared by the league against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Antiochus provoked the Romans by the slaughter of some Roman soldiers in the sacred grove of Eubœa, and he alienated Philip of Macedon, by sending a pretender to his throne to bury the dead at Cynocephalæ.—Philip joined the Romans.

362. In a great battle fought between Antiochus and the Romans at Thermopylæ, nearly all the forces of Antiochus were cut off; and the Ætolians were left to carry on the war alone. They were soon forced, by their weakness, to cast themselves on the faith of the Romans.

363. The whole Peloponnesus was included in the Achæan League, in a short time after the flight of Antiochus from Greece; and the Ætolians, after various attempts to regain their former influence, were, at length, compelled to submit entirely to Rome. The Spartans, being subdued by the Achæan League, complained at Rome. The Romans availed themselves of this appeal, to send ambassadors to Greece, to frustrate the designs of Philopœmen. During an illness of Philopœmen, who was now seventy years of age, the party opposed to him at Messene, headed by Dinocrates, declared their independence of the league. In attempting to recover the authority of the league in that city, Philopœmen was thrown from his horse, taken prisoner, and put to death, by poison. To avenge his death, the league declared war against Messenia. The oligarchical party in Messenia were given up. Dinocrates, their leader, destroyed himself.—The ashes of Philopœmen were carried to his native city, Megalopolis, at the time of the holding of one of the meetings of the league; and the Messenians were re-united with that confederacy. Sparta was, likewise, restored to the league, on condition that the exiles who had not opposed the Achæans should be recalled.

364. For some years, the league enjoyed peace; and their feebleness protected them from any aggression on the part of Rome. But there was a party, headed by Calliocrates, in the league itself, opposed to the patriotic principles in which the league had been founded; and, by their

intrigues for their own interests, they gradually strengthened the influence of the Romans through all the states of Greece.

365. The defeat of Philip by the Romans, at Cyncephalæ, held him for some time in a state of dependence on the forbearance of the conquerors. But there was continual jealousy between them. Complaints against Philip from neighbours, who believed themselves injured by him, were entertained at Rome. To defend himself, Philip sent his son Demetrius to Rome. The senate received Demetrius so favourably, that he returned with reports which roused in the minds of his father and of his brother Perseus, the heir to the throne, suspicions of treachery. In the absence of Philip and Perseus, in Thrace, Demetrius was poisoned, it was believed, by orders from his father. Philip did not long survive; but he lived to discover, with tormenting anguish, that Demetrius had been made the victim of the fraud of Perseus.

366. The first act of Perseus, on ascending the Macedonian throne, was to put to death Antigonus, who had detected his wiles against Demetrius, and whom Philip had recommended to the Macedonians as his successor. His hatred to Rome was at least equal to that of his father; but, though more temperate than Philip, he was less courageous; and, though he had at his command a vast army, and great stores of money, provisions, and arms, and had for his allies and flatterers the Illyrians, the Carthaginians, the Rhodians, the kings of Bithynia and Syria, and the free cities of Greece; who all looked to him as their defence against the advances of a common enemy; his heart appears to have quailed before the dreaded policy of Rome. Whilst he felt that he must be involved in war with the Romans, he delayed it as long as delay was in his power. He endeavoured to establish a good understanding with the Achaean League; but he was thwarted by Callicrates, who alarmed the Achæans, by describing Perseus as on the point of going to war with Rome. In Boeotia, he was more successful. Envoys from Rome were continually watching his proceedings; and, at length, war was declared against him, and messengers were sent to detach the Illyrian king from Perseus, and to secure the principal cities of the Peloponnesus in their adherence to Rome.

367. While a truce was granted to Perseus, to afford him time to send ambassadors to Rome, the Roman preparations for war were going on. They dissolved the Boeotian League, and took the separate towns under their protection. The ambassadors of Perseus were harshly dismissed from Rome. Roused to desperation, Perseus, at length, encountered the Roman army, and defeated it in Thessaly; but, even after this victory, he submitted to the most humiliating offers from the conquered party, who would accept of nothing short of absolute submission to the Roman senate.—The defeat of the Romans by Perseus was followed by acts of terrible rapacity against the Greeks by the Roman prætor. To soothe the Greeks, who suffered from these rapacities, the senate punished the prætor; and forbade that any supplies for war should be furnished without their authority. In the following year, a Roman army invaded Macedonia; and Perseus, instead of taking advantage of the opportunities which the nature of the country afforded him for cutting off the invaders, permitted them to gain a footing; and, by his parsimony, he lost the help from his allies, which he might have secured by the fulfilment of his promises of pay. All that remained for him was to strengthen his position on the Epineus; but from this he was driven by the Roman consul Æmilius Paulus, who fought with him at Pydna; slew twenty thousand of his men; took ten thousand prisoners; and received tokens of submission from the whole of Macedonia. Perseus fled from the battle; but he was pursued by one of the Roman commanders to Samothrace, and was led, with his son Philip, to the camp of the consul. Plutarch describes him as acting in such an abject manner before the consul, that the Roman rebuked him as a coward that tarnished the laurels of his conqueror, before he raised him up, and delivered him into the custody of Tubera, one of his officers, and his son-in-law.

368. In the summer after the conquest of Macedonia, Paulus, with his second son, travelled through Greece, visiting the principal cities and shrines, and relieving the poverty and distress which everywhere abounded in these scenes of ancient glory, from the stores which he had acquired in Macedonia. Finding at Delphi a marble pedestal designed for a golden statue of Perseus, he ordered his own statue to be placed upon it, saying, "It is but just that the

conquered give place to the conqueror." At Olympia, when he beheld the Jupiter of Phidias, he said, "The Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer." Ten commissioners were sent from Rome to settle the affairs of Macedonia. Paulus delivered the treasure of the royal palace to the quæstor, reserving the books of the king's library for his sons. He celebrated his victory by sacrifices to the gods, and by the usual spectacles and festivals. Departing from Oricum, he passed over to Italy, sailed up the Tiber in the galley of the Macedonian king, adorned with trophies, amid the admiring multitude of Romans. This triumph occupied three days. On the first, two hundred and fifty chariots were exhibited, containing the paintings and images taken in war; on the second, the glittering arms of Macedonia, swords and javelins, helmets, shields, breast-plates, greaves, targets, and quivers, were brought up in wagons, followed by three thousand men bearing the silver coin, and others with richly sculptured silver goblets and vases. On the third day, the early morning was roused by trumpets sounding the charge to battle, when the garlanded oxen with their gilded horns were followed by the bearers of the golden treasures. Then came the chariot of Perseus, with his armour and his diadem, followed by his children and their attendants, in tears, and stretching out their hands, as suppliants, to the spectators. Behind them walked Perseus, clothed in black, and followed by his mourning friends. Four hundred crowns of gold, which had been decreed by numerous cities to Paulus, were carried in front of the conqueror, in his chariot, robed in gold and purple, holding a branch of laurel in his right hand, followed by his army, likewise carrying boughs of laurel. After the triumph, Perseus was confined in a common prison. Through the intercession of Paulus, he was removed to a more commodious apartment, where he starved himself, or was kept constantly awake by his guards, until he died of weariness and watching.

369. Such was the end of the last of the monarchs of Macedonia, and the fall, in Europe, of the splendid empire which Alexander the Great had received from his father, and transmitted to his successors through a period of a hundred and fifty years. None of the successors of Alexander equalled him in those great qualities for which he has been

celebrated in history. Each was stained with vices of his own, and all of them inflicted on their own people, and on Greece those degrading exactions which ended in the ruin of their liberties. How poor is the glory of having destroyed the freedom of the only nation in the world professing freedom! Again we are reminded of the truth so constantly enforced by the tenor of the history before us. Ambition has shed blood; squandered treasures; trampled on rights; and brought misery and infamy on men possessing the largest capacities, and the widest field for action. Their names and the record of their deeds, are preserved by the historian, only to add to the numberless warnings, which every age accumulates, against the indulgence of our passions in opposition to the demands of justice, the pleadings of humanity, and the laws of God.

370. In the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, received and interpreted by the prophet Daniel, the successive monarchies of the earth were represented by a vast image, with a head of fine gold, representing the Babylonian empire; a breast and arms of silver, representing the Medo-Persian kingdom, from Cyrus to Darius Codomannus; the belly and thighs of brass, representing the Macedonian empire, founded by Alexander; the legs of iron, the feet, part of iron and part of clay, representing the Roman empire, and the monarchies of modern Europe.

371. The same succession of kingdoms was revealed to Daniel, forty-eight years afterwards, under the forms of wild beasts, rising, one after the other, out of the sea:—the first, or Babylonian, a lion with an eagle's wings; the second, or Medo-Persian, a bear; the third, or Macedonian, a leopard with four heads and four wings; the fourth, or Roman, a dreadful beast with iron teeth, treading down and breaking in pieces. These prophecies are contained in the book of Daniel; and they are well illustrated by bishop Newton, in his "Dissertations on the Prophecies." We see their fulfilment, so far as Greece is concerned, in the entire course of the present history, from the conquest of Darius to the victory of Paulus. The events did not happen for the purpose of fulfilling the predictions; but the predictions were uttered long before, to display the omniscience of God, to assert his supreme rule over all

kings and nations, and to establish the inspiration of those messengers by whom he has made known his will to man. How unsearchable is his wisdom! How awful is his power! How boundless is his dominion!

372. In the course of five generations, the monuments of Alexander's glory, and of all his successors, served only to grace the triumph, and to gratify the pride, of Rome. And in beholding this great change, may we not pause to mark the providence of God fulfilling the prophecies of ancient days! What a contrast is his everlasting throne to the fleeting career of conquerors, heroes, and princes! How sure is the fulfilment of all his words, whether of promise or of threatening!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GREECE UNDER THE ROMANS.

Proceedings of the Ten Commissioners—State of Athens after the Macedonian war—Menalcidas and the Oropians—War declared by the league against the Spartans—Death of Callierates—Dionys—Plunder of Jasus—Death of Menalcidas—Declaration of M. Aurelius Orestes—Julius Sextus—War against the Achæans—Critolaus—L. Mummius—Sosthenes put to death—Conquest of Achæa—Polybius—Form of Grecian government—Consequences of the war between Mithridates and the Romans—Proceedings of Mithridates in Macedonia, Greece, Athens, and Isle of Delos—Sulla invades Greece—Surrender of the Boeotians—Attack on the Piræus—Scenes in Athens—Death of Aristion—Archelaus—Roman ascendancy secured in Asia and Greece—Waste of population in Greece—Government of Achæa—Superiority of Greece—Julius Cæsar—Pompey—Octavius—Actium—Patriæ—Events occurring in Greece—Introduction of the Christian religion in the reign of Claudius—Paul's travels—Planting of different churches—Advantages of the Greek language—The gospel—The state of Greece under the different emperors—Nero—Various foets—Vespasian visits Greece—Apollonius—Adrian—Antoninus—Herodes Atticus—Reign of Marcus Aurelius—Perigrinus—Death by burning—Foundation of Constantinople—Division of the empire—Julian—Addition of Macedonia—Theodosius—Thessalonica—Invasion by the Goths—Death of Theodosius—Alaric—Destruction of Corinth—Argos—Sparta—Romans in the eleventh century—Robert Guiscard—Michael—Alexius—Defence of Durazzo—Norman Conquest of Durazzo—Bohemond besieges Larissa—Henry Fourth of Germany—Robert—Hildebrand—Robert victorious at Corfu—Death—Ravages committed by barbarians from the north—Islands of the Ægean in the time of the crusades—Boniface—Otho de la Roche—Theodore Lascaris—Proceedings of Michael Paleologus—Peter of Aragon—Battle on the Cephissus—Continuation of the dukedom of Naples.

373. THE Ten Commissioners brought from Rome the outlines of a decree of the Senate, by which Macedonia was divided into four districts, rigidly separated from each other, to be governed by their own magistrates. A tribute of one hundred talents was demanded for Rome, and a

body of laws, drawn up by Paulus, was given for the government of these new republics, each of which was placed under the rule of a senate, while all the Macedonians who had served the king were sent to Italy. The same commissioners wielded the power of Rome over the whole of Greece. The partisans of Rome flocked to them from Achaia, Boeotia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Ætolia. Those who were marked out by these traitors to their country were sent to Rome, to be tried on various charges. In Achaia, there was a meeting of men of all parties to determine what course should be pursued in the present state of affairs. They resolved on avoiding any steps that could give just cause of offence at Rome. On this principle, they declined to aid the Egyptian princes of the house of Ptolemy, in their war with Antiochus Epiphanes. But two commissioners arrived from Rome, demanding that the league should condemn to death all who had sided with Persus in the late war. The assembly required the names of the accused. They were answered, that the accusation comprised all who had filled the office of general in the time of war. One of these generals, Xeno, declared that he was prepared to maintain his innocence before any tribunal, whether in Greece or in Rome. In consequence of this appeal, Callicrates made a list of some of the best men in Greece, amounting to more than a thousand, who were forced to go to Rome to be tried. They were distributed, by order of the senates, among the cities of Italy. While all Greece was anxiously awaiting the result of their trial, and sending one embassy after another to urge the senate to decide their fate, Callicrates and other adherents of Rome in Achaia, Ætolia, Acarnania, and Boeotia, practised the most enormous frauds, cruelties, and robberies on the people, under the Roman patronage. After seventeen years of wearisome suffering, the exiles who were reduced to less than three hundred, were permitted by the senate to return to Greece; but their hatred against Rome, and all her friends in Greece, only increased the dangers and the miseries of their country.

374. So low had Athens sunk, after the close of the Macedonian war, that her citizens, in her poverty, were tempted to plunder Oropus in the territory of the Sicyonians; and the Sicyonians were directed by the Roman

senate to punish the depredators, by a fine of five hundred talents. In their distress, the Athenians sent three of their philosophers, Diogenes, Critolaus, and Cameades, to plead with the senate for the mitigation of the fine. The fine was reduced to one hundred talents. But this was more than the Athenians could pay. By some negotiations, which are not yet explained, the Oropians were persuaded to accept an Athenian garrison, and to give hostages to the Athenians. It was not long before some outrage was committed by the garrison, which induced the Oropians to demand that the garrison should be withdrawn, and the hostages restored. The Athenians refused. The Oropians appealed to the Achæan League, and bribed Menalcidas, the chief magistrate of the league, to support their appeal. Menalcidas shared the bribe with Callicrates, and it was resolved to send help to the Oropians. This resolution involved all parties in difficulties, as the Spartan troops opposed the invasion of Attica.

375. War was declared by the league against the principal men in Sparta, who sought refuge in Rome. Callicrates and Diaeus, the successor of Menalcidas in the chief magistracy of the league, were sent to Rome to oppose the Spartans. Callicrates died on the road; and Diaeus found himself opposed at Rome by Menalcidas, who was himself a Spartan; and all the satisfaction given to either party by the senate was, that envoys from Rome would be sent to settle the dispute in Greece. The different reports brought by Diaeus, and by Menalcidas, who were probably both deceived by the senate, encouraged each party to persevere in hostility the one to the other. Diaeus was warned to abandon his preparations for war against Sparta, by Metellus, who had just quelled an insurrection in Macedonia; but, though he promised to suspend hostilities until the arrival of the Roman envoy, he placed Achæan garrisons in Laconian towns, and infested the country near Sparta: which provoked the Spartans, on the other hand, to disobey the orders of Metellus, by plundering the frontier town of Jasus. The probable consequences of this inroad so alarmed Menalcidas, that he destroyed himself by poison.

376. When the promised envoys arrived, M. Aurelius Orestes, the chief envoy, declared, in the name of the

senate, that the league should include only the Achæan towns, and that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, and Orchomenus, should resume their independence. This declaration provoked the Achæans to assail the Spartans residing in Corinth, and to throw them into prison. The envoys returned to Rome, complaining that the senate had been insulted in their persons. When they had departed, the Achæans sent an embassy to apologize to the senate for what had taken place. On their way they met Julius Sextus, whom the senate had sent with fresh envoys to require satisfaction for the outrage, and they were prevailed on by him to return with him. The Roman envoys had a meeting with the Spartans at Tegea; but, as they were trifled with by the minister of the Achæans, they returned to Rome; and war was decreed by the senate against the Achæans.

377. The Achæan minister, Critolaus, in the meantime, stirred up the people against both the Spartans and the Romans, and obtained a declaration of war against Sparta, in which he was invested with uncontrolled authority. He was defeated by Metellus at Scarphea, near Thermopylæ, but was either drowned or poisoned, and was heard of no more after the battle. Metellus, in his march southwards, cut to pieces a body of Arcadians, and on his arrival at the isthmus, he found the consul L. Mummius, in command of the forces against the Achæans, who sent him, with his army, back to Macedonia. Diæus had succeeded Critolaus at the head of the army of the league; but before he reached Corinth, it had been determined in a council held by Sosicrates, next in command, to negotiate with Metellus. On his arrival at Corinth, Diæus urged the most violent measures against the Romans, and put Sosicrates to death, after torturing him in vain to force from him a confession of guilt. It was at this crisis that L. Mummius appeared at the isthmus. Diæus obtained a victory over some of the Roman out-posts, and carried away five hundred shields, "the last trophies of independent Greece." Elated with this trifling success, he gave battle to Mummius, in the neighbourhood of Corinth. He was soon defeated; fled to Megalopolis; killed his wife; and then destroyed himself by poison.

378. The terrible vengeance of the Roman senate now fell on Corinth, the richest of the Grecian cities. The

men were put to the sword; the women and children were sold; the treasures and precious productions of art were rifled; and the city was destroyed by fire. All who adhered to Discus were slain, or banished. The cities which had contributed to the war were sentenced to pay two hundred talents to Sparta. The walls of Thebes and of Chalcis were destroyed. Greece was conquered; Epirus and Thessaly were joined to the province of Macedonia; and all the rest of Greece became a Roman province, with the designation of *ACHAIA*.

379. Among the thousand Achæan exiles of Megalopolis, before mentioned, was Polybius, son of Lycostas, the successor of Philopoëmon. At Rome, he was received into the house of Paulus, and became the teacher and intimate friend of the son of Paulus, Scipio Æmilianus, whom he accompanied into Africa when he took Carthage. He had visited Greece for a short time, when the exiles were permitted to return; but he soon went back to Rome. After the fall of Corinth, he repaired to Greece once more, to use his influence with the Romans in mitigating her sufferings as a conquered country. He composed, in Greek, an extensive history of Rome, in forty books: of which only five remain entire, with portions of the rest.

380. The form of government in Greece was republican in name; but the real authority was wielded by the Roman proconsul. By excluding the Greeks from all political activity, the Romans succeeded in finally quenching the national spirit. By burdensome taxes, increased by the rapacity of public officers, the people were impoverished, and, at the same time, oppressed; and there was no remedy without appeals to Rome, which were generally difficult, and seldom followed by redress. Vices of the meanest kind were the natural growth of such a condition: falsehood, flattery, intrigue, and robbery.

381. On the breaking out of the war between Mithridates, king of Pontus, and the Romans, that brave but perfidious prince obtained the dominion of Asia Minor, and of many of the islands in the Ægean; and such was his bitter hatred to the Romans, that, by his orders, eighty thousand Italians were slaughtered. Having failed in an attempt against Rhodes, he carried the war into Macedonia and Greece. Whilst pursuing this war, he sent Aristion,

an Epicurean philosopher, to Athens, who persuaded the mass of the people to revolt from the Romans, and to join Mithridates, in the hope that he would restore to them their fallen democracy. When Archelaus, the commander of the navy of Mithridates, subdued the island of Delos, which had thrown off the Athenian yoke, and deposited the booty in Athens, Aristion became master of Athens, under the pretence of guarding the treasures; and he abused his power by putting to death, or delivering to Mithridates, all the friends of Rome who remained in the city.

382. The next year, Sulla, the Roman consul, having defeated his rival, Marius, marched into Greece. On his approach, the Bœotians yielded to his arms, and the other Grecian states, with the exception of Athens, followed their example. Sulla attacked the Piræus, where the commander of the fleet of Mithridates had intrenched himself. Though he cut down the trees that adorned the neighbourhood of Athens, and plundered the sacred treasures of Delphi, to enable him to carry on the siege through a whole winter, he was compelled to give up the undertaking. He destroyed the walls connecting the Piræus with Athens. Aristion, who held the citadel, was rioting in luxury and debauchery, while the wretched inhabitants were reduced to the verge of famine; and he insulted them when they entreated him to make peace with the Romans. When Sulla approached the city, Aristion sent some of his associates to treat with him; but, as they were delivering long harangues about the Athenian heroes of former days, the Roman interrupted them, saying, "I have not come to Athens to learn lessons, but to chastise rebels." In the night, Sulla found an unguarded part of the city, by which he entered; and so dreadful was the slaughter, that streams of Athenian blood, it is said, rolled through their gates, and multitudes, in their despair, took away their own lives. Sulla was prevailed on, by friends of Rome who had been expelled from Athens by Aristion, and by several Romans in his camp, to spare the many for the sake of the few, and the living for the sake of the dead. Aristion and his companions were put to death. The citizens were deprived of the power to choose their magistrates. Archelaus was at length driven from the Piræus; and the ramparts and the arsenal were destroyed. Archelaus escaped into Thessaly; and from

thence he conducted the Macedonian army into Boeotia; but he was defeated by the Romans at Chæronca.

383. The final destruction of Mithridates secured the Roman ascendancy both in Asia and in Greece.—One striking fact in the condition of Greece, after her subjugation by the Romans, has been dwelt on by all the historians of the time,—namely, the gradual and rapid waste of her population. Much of this was owing, doubtless, to the desolations of war; much to the oppressions of the government; not a little to the emigration of many of the inhabitants to Italy. But, as the decrease had been going on before the Roman conquest, the gravest and best informed writers have ascribed it chiefly to the degrading vices of the Grecian character, which had been increasing with the advance both of luxury and of misery, for many years.

384. It is a gloomy picture. But we must not refuse to look at it; for it verifies the representations given of the ancient Greeks in the New Testament; and it illustrates the justice of Divine Providence in punishing nations, in this world, for their sins against the knowledge which is *to them* the law of God. And who will say that these very sins were not the direct causes which made the descendants of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis, the victims and the slaves of Rome? As it was by temperance, discipline, and combination, that their fathers gained so high a point, it was by the opposite vices of sensuality, selfishness, and discord, that they lost the fair inheritance bequeathed to them; and, while the mountains, and their beautiful sky, and their monuments of art, still remained, the *spirit* of Greece was dead, and her glory faded.—Happy is the nation that has its public institutions guarded by the morals of the people, and its people instructed in those divine principles, on which alone a pure morality can be sustained. History shows us that the training up of a people from childhood in those habits of self-command, benevolence, and faithfulness, which are enjoined by the gospel, is the only effectual security for good laws, and for obedience to them.

385. When Greece became subject to the Roman empire, the province, now named Achaia, was, like other provinces, governed by proconsuls. The superiority of Greece to Rome in all that belonged to the cultivation of the

mind, attracted the young men of wealthy families to the schools of rhetoric and philosophy, which flourished in various parts of the country. The history of the men of former days, also, was a reason for visiting the places where they had lived and fought, and for treating the inhabitants with a degree of favour unknown by other subjects.

386. Julius Cæsar raised Corinth from her ruins. This country, likewise, became the scene of actions deeply interesting to Rome, and to the world. It was in Thessaly that the great battle was fought between Pompey the Great, and Julius Cæsar, which brought to a close the independence of the Roman senate; and which secured to Cæsar the power to found the imperial authority on the ruins of the republic.

387. At the time of Cæsar's death, his nephew and adopted son, Octavius, was following his studies at Apollonia, a Grecian city on the borders of the Ionian sea. At Philippi, the city founded near the Strymon in Macedonia by Philip, Alexander's father, Brutus and Cassius, the last defenders of Roman liberty, were defeated by Antony; and it was at Actium, near the entrance to the Ambracian gulf, on the western side of Greece, that Octavius Augustus defeated his rival Antony in a sea-fight, and became the master of the Roman empire; which he ruled for forty years, and committed at his death to his adopted son, Tiberius. To celebrate his victory, Octavius founded the city of Nicopolis; and he settled a colony at Patræ, with the privileges of a Roman city.

388. In the reign of Claudius, who ascended the imperial throne on the death of Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, events of a very different character from any of those which we have been recording, occurred in the history of Greece. This was the introduction into that country, and into Europe, of the Christian religion. For the description of this event, we refer to the sixteenth and following chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. We there behold the apostle Paul, at Troas, on the Asiatic side of the Ægean Sea, purposing to take a north-eastern direction through Bithynia, being forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, (Minor,) when a man of Macedonia appeared to him in a vision. Obeying the heavenly message, he passed by Samothracia and Neapolis to Philippi, the city founded by Philip, and near to which, the Roman

Brutus, being defeated by Octavius, destroyed his own life. Having planted a church in that city, he passed through Amphipolis and Appollonia, to Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth, from whence he departed for Syria.

389. We need not dwell on those thoughts which arise, in the Christian's mind, while tracing the steps of the inspired preacher over the regions of strife and blood. What a beautiful contrast does it present to the pomp of the Persian invasion, which we have been contemplating, or to the Roman conquest, with its terrific power.

390. What a picture rises to our imagination, at the Areopagus of Athens, when, in the city of gods and temples, the stranger declares to them "The Unknown God," and, in the chosen abode of philosophy, convicts them of their ignorance, and brings to them the truth. Little as we know of the success of the gospel among the idle and disputatious Athenians, we have ample proof of the power of grace in humbling the pride, and in purifying the passions, of the luxurious Corinthians. They were Grecian cities, too, inhabited by the descendants of the ancient colonists, in which the flourishing churches of Asia Minor, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, and the rest, were planted; and in all these cities, the most precious fruits of the gospel were brought forth. It is in the language of the Greeks, that the wisdom of God, the doctrine of salvation, is conveyed to mankind; and so perfect are the arrangements of Providence, that this language had already spread through the civilized world, so that the gospel, without a miracle, has been preserved and translated into the languages of nearly every people under heaven. It gives a peculiar charm to the Epistles addressed by Paul to the churches at Philippi, and Corinth, and Thessalonica, thus to remember the history and the character of the people from among whom these churches were called out as the trophies of grace, and as the witnesses of the truth. And to the gospel itself it is due, that we should remember that it did for Greece what all the splendours of art, arms, philosophy, and eloquence, had failed to do:—it saved men from sin; made them happy; taught them Christ, the way to heaven; to live in love; and assured them, for the Saviour's sake, of immortal purity and bliss in heaven

391. The state of Greece, under "the dark, unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid inhuman Domitian," would not fail to awaken bitter regret at the loss of ancient freedom; and the miseries of the people were increased by the unbounded power of their oppressors.

392. It is well known that Nero was passionately fond of music, and excessively vain of his accomplishments in that art. To gratify his vanity, the Grecian cities most famous for contests in musical skill, passed a law, that all the crowns gained by successful competitors should be sent to the emperor at Rome. The deputies sent with these crowns were admitted to Nero's table; and on one of these occasions they prevailed on him to sing. Their applauses were so flattering, that Nero exclaimed—"The Greeks alone were judges of music; they alone were worthy of me, and of my talent!"

393. At the end of the same year, Nero departed for Greece; and he spent nearly a year in that country. In the island of Coreyra, he sang before the altar of Jupiter. He gave orders that the ancient rules for the celebration of the Grecian games should be disregarded. He introduced musical contests at Olympia. He undertook to drive a chariot drawn by ten horses; but he was thrown; and, after remounting, was obliged to desist; yet he was proclaimed and crowned as victor in the race. In the same manner he contended at the Isthmian, Pythian, Nemean, and other games of Greece, from which he carried away eighteen hundred crowns. As the glory of the victor redounded to the country and city to which he belonged, Nero, who was his own herald, proclaimed that he acquired these crowns for the people of Rome, and for the world, of which he was the master!

394. As Nero's jealousy would bear no rival of his fame, he destroyed the statues which commemorated the victories of others. One Greek singer, who, more ambitious than politic, contended with Nero, until he filled the delighted audience with admiration of his superior skill, was murdered, by the emperor's orders.—Having reaped such a golden harvest of renown in Greece, he emulated the example of Flaminius; and he proclaimed, at the Isthmian

games, that Greece was, once more, free. Neither Athens nor Sparta were honoured with his presence. At Delphi, he consulted the oracle, which warned him to beware of sixty-three years. As he was now only thirty, he took the oracle to mean—that he had thirty-three years longer to live. But when the Pythia uttered less flattering sentences, he was enraged; took from the temple the territory of Cirrha, which had been for ages sacred to it; and profaned the opening of the cave, from which the oracle was believed to issue, with the blood of murdered Greeks; and then he commanded it to be closed.

395. Whilst he was in Greece, Nero renewed the attempt to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth. The superstitious of the nations, and the calculations of mathematicians, did not deter him. With a golden pick-axe he struck the earth three times, in the presence of applauding multitudes. An incredible number of labourers was employed during sixty-five days; but when they had accomplished about a tenth part of the work, an order came from Nero, at Corinth, to abandon it. The pretence made was, that Egyptian engineers had shown that the connecting of the Ionian and Ægean seas would deluge the low countries near the sea; but the true reason appears to have been that Nero was forced to abandon it, by the state of his affairs at Rome. Before he departed from Greece, he left the marks of his tyranny, in the cruel murder of the most illustrious of the natives, in the plunder of the rich, and the pillage of the temples.

396. Not more than six years after these singular adventures of Nero, Vespasian visited Greece, and deprived the Greeks of the liberty which Nero had granted, saying, "The Greeks have forgotten the use of freedom." This act of Vespasian occasioned the stinging reproach of Apollonius, the philosopher of Alexandria, to whom the emperor paid great attention. He compared him to Xerxes, who would have enslaved Greece; and contrasted him with Nero, who had given her liberty.

397. Adrian's love of magnificent buildings, and his reverence for antiquity, disposed him to cherish a peculiar regard for Greece. On the tomb of Epaminondas, at Mantinea, he raised a column, on which was engraven an inscription by himself, recording the glory of the Theban

hero. On the Athenians he bestowed large sums of money, and annual grants of corn; embellished their city with many new buildings; and made them a present of the island of Cephalonía. They honoured him by statues; by founding a new city, called the Athens of Adrian, in the isle of Delos; and, by forming, among their own citizens, a new tribe called after his name. He also, at their request, gave them a new code of laws, among which was one against any senator of Athens being concerned, directly or otherwise, in the forming of the public revenues. His successor, Antoninus, raised the town of Pallante, in Arcadia, into a new city, in memory of Evander, an Arcadian, who is said to have settled in Latium sixty years before the Trojan war.

398. It was under this emperor that Herodes Atticus, a native of Athens, became a munificent benefactor to his country. He traced his descent to Cimon and Miltiades. His father, Atticus, while a poor man, had found a treasure so large that he feared to enjoy it till he had written twice to Nerva, the Roman emperor, and obtained his permission. He then married a lady of great wealth, and spent his fortune in princely magnificence. Under the reign of Adrian, he was appointed governor of the free cities of Asiatic Greece. He erected an aqueduct at Troas, partly at the expense of the government, but he laid out a much larger sum from his own property. His son, Herodes Atticus, cultivated Grecian oratory with great assiduity and success, and became the teacher of eloquence to Marcus Aurelius. His great wealth enabled him to adorn the temples of Athens, Delphi, Olympia, and other cities, with noble monuments and costly offerings. At Athens, he constructed a stadium, or race-course, of white marble, six hundred feet in length. He raised a theatre of unequalled elegance to the memory of his wife. He restored to its ancient magnificence the Odeum, or music-hall, built by Pericles. He enriched the temple of Neptune, on the Isthmus, and adorned Corinth with a theatre. At Delphi, he built a stadium; and, at Thermopylæ, a splendid bath. Ancient inscriptions bear witness of his benefactions to cities of Asia, and of Italy, as well as in Epirus, Thessaly, Bœotia, and Peloponnesus. Nor did he confine his liberality to public works: he generously shared his riches

with his friends. It is said, that one day, when he was entertaining company, a man covered with a cloak, with long hair, and a beard reaching almost to his girdle, approached him, and asked for money to buy bread. "What are you?" said Herodes; with an indignant and reproachful tone,—the man replied, "I am a philosopher, and I am surprised that you do not see this with your own eyes." "I see," answered Herodes, "the cloak and the beard, yet I do not see the *philosopher*; prove to me that you are one." Some of the guests then said, they knew the pretended philosopher to be a shameless impostor, who spent his time in taverns, and who, when his demands were refused, revenged himself by inflicting the grossest injuries. "Still," said their host, "let us give him some money; let us do honour to humanity, though *he* degrades it." He then ordered the man a sum which kept him for a month.

399. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, there appeared in Greece a singular creature of the name of Peregrinus. He was born in the neighbourhood of Lampsacus, on the eastern margin of the Hellespont. During a youth of excessive wickedness, he had murdered his father for the sake of his money, and was forced to flee from home to escape punishment. Repairing to Palestine, he professed the Christian religion, and became a minister, and suffered imprisonment in the persecution under Adrian, during which time he was relieved and consoled by the charity of Christians. The governor of Syria released him from prison; but soon after, the Christians, discovering that he was a base hypocrite, expelled him from their communion. Thus deprived of the support he had enjoyed, he retired to Egypt as a cynic philosopher, with the name of Proteus. He then resorted to Rome, where he received, for a while, the countenance of the emperor; but, in a short time, he was banished by the præfect as a dangerous man. He then passed into Greece; there he declaimed against the splendid liberality of Atticus, in providing water, at his own expense, for the town of Olympia; under the pretence, that this would soften the manners of the Greeks, who ought to be trained to hardships. The indignant people would have stoned him, had he not found a sanctuary in the temple of Jupiter. At the following Olympic games, he pronounced a eulogy on the man he had defamed. Moved by an

insatiable thirst for notoriety, he declared that at the next celebration of the games, he would cast himself, in the presence of all Greece, into a burning pile. The time arrived, and one of his disciples, named Theagenes, made a speech, in which he exalted his master above all the philosophers of Greece, and even above Jupiter. When he had finished, another man, who knew him well, narrated his history, and drew his character in such lively colours, that many of the assembly were satisfied that he deserved to be burned to death for his crimes. Peregrinus employed the days of the festival in addressing political and moral lessons to the principal cities of the world, which were to be distributed by his disciples after his death. On the last day of the games, he fulfilled his promise; and he expired in the flames—one of the most extraordinary examples, perhaps, in the history of the world, of talent, hypocrisy, crime, and vanity.

400. The emperor Marcus Aurelius, who was distinguished by the love of philosophy, visited Athens on his return from the east. He was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He conferred on the Athenians many privileges, and established liberal foundations for the teaching of the arts and sciences in that city, to which strangers from all parts of the world were attracted.

401. The founding of Constantinople by Constantine the Great was followed by the division of the empire into two parts, the eastern and the western; but they were reunited by the victory of Constantius, his son, over Gallus, his cousin, after the murder of his brother Constans. Julian, the younger brother of Gallus, after escaping the general massacre of his father's house, passed some of his earliest days in Ionia; and, afterwards, he spent some months among the philosophers of the academy at Athens. When he ascended the imperial throne, he showed his attachment to Greece by relieving the wants and reviving the grandeur of many of her cities.—The final division of the empire took place shortly after the death of Julian—the eastern empire extending from the lower Danube to the confines of Persia; the western comprising Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, and including Greece. Within fifteen years, Macedonia was added to the eastern government, under Theodosius; and, for a short time, Greece appears to have been involved in the public events of that empire.

402. During the administration of Theodosius, who had received baptism at Thessalonica, the metropolis of the Illyrian provinces, that city was disgraced by an insurrection. A strong fortification, guarded by a numerous garrison, had saved the city from the invasion of the Goths, who had recently poured down upon the empire. The commander of the garrison, who then occupied the citadel with but a remnant of his force, had thrown into prison one of the charioteers of the circus for an offence against one of his slaves. On the day of the public games, the multitude clamoured for the freedom of the charioteer; but they were sternly repulsed by the general. He was cruelly murdered by the licentious multitude, together with his principal officers, and their mangled remains were wantonly insulted, and dragged along the streets. When the news of these atrocities reached the emperor, at Milan, he resolved on the destruction of the whole people. In the name of Theodosius, they were summoned to the games in the circus; and when the signal for the races was eagerly expected by the crowds of spectators, the soldiers rushed in upon them, and in a massacre which spared not, but lasted for three hours, seven thousand of both sexes, natives and strangers, old and young, the guilty and the innocent, were put to the sword.

403. The death of Theodosius devolved the empire on his two sons, Arcadius ruling in the east, and Honorius in the west. Only a few weeks after the accession of these young princes, the wild warriors of Scythia, whom Theodosius had driven away by his arms, and then pacified by paying them as his auxiliaries, were provoked by the feebleness of his sons, and by the treachery of Ruffinus, the imperial minister, again to cross the Danube, and march against Greece. They were now led by Alaric. The Gothic leader passed without resistance the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly; the pass of Thermopylæ was deserted by the imperial troops; and the barbarians spread death and desolation through Phocis and Bœotia. The impatient conqueror waited not to assail the gates of Thebes, but hurried to Athens, where his herald proclaimed that the city and the inhabitants would be spared, on condition of giving up the greater part of their property. But the territory of Attica was wasted. Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, were

committed to the flames; the statues and vases were spared by the invaders; and the surviving inhabitants were enslaved. The distressed Greeks implored the help of Stilicho, the general of the western empire. That general landed a body of troops on the isthmus near the ruins of Corinth, and defeated the Goths, after repeated battles, in Arcadia and in Elis. After the defeat, Alaric escaped into Epirus; and he was, soon after, declared by the government at Constantinople the master-general of the eastern Illyricum.

401. From the fall of the western empire, the only gleam of light that falls on the Roman history of Greece exhibits the emperor Justinian abolishing the schools of Athens, which had long before sunk into comparative obscurity.

405. In the eleventh century, the progress of the Normans in western Europe included the conquest, by Robert Guiscard, duke of Elaten, of the countries included in the kingdom of Naples. One of his daughters was betrothed to Constantine, the heir of Michael, emperor of Greece; but a revolution at Constantinople had driven Michael from the throne, and involved his family in disgrace. A Greek, pretending to be Michael, appeared in Italy, and related his misfortunes. The ambition and revenge of Robert urged him to the invasion of Greece. Having secured a harbour for his troops in the isle of Corfu, (the ancient Corcyra,) he encountered a Venetian fleet equipped on behalf of the Byzantine court, and his ships were driven on shore and captured; while his camp was afflicted with disease, which carried off five hundred knights and many thousands of his followers. Alexius, now the emperor, made a treaty of peace with the Turks, and marched at the head of a mixed army to the defence of Durazzo. On the ground where Pompey and Cæsar had fought for the mastery of Rome eleven hundred years before, the Norman burned his vessels and his baggage, and, with fifteen thousand men, awaited the emperor's approach with seventy thousand. After a desperate struggle, the Norman was the victor. He gained possession of Durazzo, and he had already traversed Epirus, and reached the mountains of Thessaly, when intelligence from Italy demanded his return. He left the remains of his army under the command of his son Bohemond, who overcame the emperor in two battles, and laid siege to

Larissa, in the plain of Thessaly, which contained the emperor's treasure. He could not take the city; many of his followers deserted to the army of Alexius; his camp was plundered, and he returned to his father. Alexius secured the alliance of Henry iv. of Germany, the implacable enemy of the Normans; but Robert, supported by the pope, Gregory vii., the great Hildebrand, and by the general applause of Italy, approached Rome with so powerful an army, that Henry hastily retreated into Lombardy. As a reward for his valour, Robert received from the pope the promise of the kingdoms of Greece and Asia. He made way through the united fleets of Greece and Venice, landed once more in Epirus, and obtained a decided naval victory over the enemy, near Corfu. While projecting the conquest of Greece and the islands, he died at Cephalonia, leaving Alexius in the undisturbed possession of the throne.

406. Before the fall of the eastern empire, Greece was once more ravaged by barbarians from the forests of Central Asia. Under the various names of Tartars, Huns, Slavonians, or Bulgarians, they spread from Constantinople to the Ionian Sea, and carried destruction to the isthmus of Corinth.

407. In the progress of the crusades, we find the islands of the *Ægean* governed by a noble family of Venice; Crete in the possession of the Venetian republic; and the Macedonian kingdom in the hands of Boniface, marquis of Montserrat, the leader of the fourth crusade, who, in his passage to the Holy Land, made a descent on Eubœa and Andros, and after the conquest of Constantinople, took the greater part of the continent of Greece as his share in the division of the spoil. "His progress," says Gibbon, "was hailed by the voluntary, or reluctant, acclamations of the natives; and Greece—the ancient and proper Greece—again received a Latin conqueror, who trod with indifference that classic ground. He viewed with a careless eye the beauties of the vale of Tempe, traversed with a cautious step the straits of Thermopylæ, occupied the unknown cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos; and assaulted the fortifications of Corinth, and of Napoli, which resisted his arms. Within three months after the conquest of Constantinople, the

emperor and the king of Thessalonica, (Boniface,) drew their hostile followers into the field; they were reconciled by the authority of the doge, the advice of the marshal, and the firm freedom of their peers."

408. Thebes and Athens formed a separate dukedom assigned to Otho de la Roche, of Burgundy, a follower of the marquis of Montserrat. After this reconciliation, the emperor was sent by the marquis to Italy, and ended his days in a monastery in Asia. His son-in-law, Theodore Lascaris, assumed the title of emperor in Asia Minor.

409. Another member of the imperial family of the name of Michael, making his escape from the camp of Boniface, married the daughter of the governor of Durazzo, and established an independent principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly. Boniface was killed in a war with the Bulgarians, whom the Greeks had invited to rescue them from the oppressions of their Latin conquerors. His kingdom was added to Nice, the Bithynian kingdom, founded by Theodore Lascaris, now held by Valaces, his son-in-law, with the title of emperor.

410. The empire of Constantinople was afterwards recovered by Michael Palæologus, who, while he wrested from the Franks several of the islands of the Ægean, and the eastern side of Peloponnesus from Argos to Cape Tanærus, left the eastern frontiers of his empire exposed to the Turks. He likewise brought upon himself the vengeance of the pope, for the cruelties inflicted on members of the Latin church. In his wars with the western princes, he had summoned to his aid Peter, king of Aragon, who ruled Valentia and Catalonia, on the coasts of Spain. After the wars, a band of the Catalans, consisting of four thousand foot, and three thousand horse, invaded the dominions of Walter de Brienne, who, by marriage, inherited the dukedom of Athens. The reigning duke raised a force of seven hundred knights, six thousand four hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, and advanced to meet them on the banks of the Cephissus in Boeotia. The Catalans inundated the neighbourhood of their own camp, and the duke and his knights were cut to pieces as they plunged into the softened ground. The widows and daughters of the slain were married by the Catalans, who took possession of

Bœotia and Attica. The country passed successively under the governments of Aragon, Sicily, and the house of Accaroli at Naples.

411. The dominion of Accaroli embraced Bœotia, Attica, Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and part of Thessaly, and continued till the last of their dukes was strangled by Mohammed the Second, the Turkish conqueror of the eastern empire.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS.

Origin and government of the Turks—Bajazet and his successors—Mohammed the Second—Venetians—Founding of the Morea—War between Turks and Venetians—The Morea lost and regained by the Turks—The Ionian Isles constituted an independent republic under the British government—Extent of the Turkish conquests—Division of the Turkish government of Greece—Laws of the government—Condition of Greece under their government—Prevalence of the Greek lineage—Sketch of Grecian qualities—Progress of education—Nature of the events which produced the independence of Greece—Vellu Bey—Ali, born 1750—Youth—Fortunes and successes—Obtains possession of Parga—War with Soult—Murder of Ismael—Pusha Bey—Death of Ali—Ruh, born 1760—Early years—Death—1814, Prince Mavro Kordato founds the Hetæria—1819, Capo D'Istria—War between Ali and the Porte in 1821—Alexander Ypsilanti—Murder of Gregorius—Discontent spread throughout Greece—Results—Revolution among the Turks—War against Greece by the national militia—Conquest of Tripolitza by the Greeks

412. THE Turks came originally from the western side of Tartary in the centre of Asia; after a succession of conquests in the east, they subdued Asia Minor and Syria. The different governments of these eastern conquerors are known in history as the Seljuks, Moguls, and Ottomans. The Ottoman was founded towards the close of the thirteenth century. They overran the kingdom of Bithynia, and Asia Minor. The great grandson of the founder of this empire, Bajazet, became master of Macedonia, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece; and, while on the point of taking Constantinople, was himself captured by Timour the conqueror of Persia, Tartary, and India. After the death of Bajazet, Mousa, one of his sons, concluded a treaty with Manuel, who had ascended the throne of John Palæologus in Constantinople.

413. When Manuel died, he left three sons, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas. Constantine and Thomas were in Peloponnesus at the time of their father's death. Demetrius, in their absence, usurped the throne; but the

imperial crown was placed on the head of Constantine, at Sparta.

414. The Ottoman throne was filled in succession by two princes of the name of Amurath. It was reserved for the son of the second of these princes, Mohammed the Second, to effect the final conquest of Constantinople. The princes of the Peloponnesus, and of the Greek islands, looked coldly on the advances of the Ottoman against the capital of the empire; but five ships manned by the veterans of Greece and Italy, thrice repulsed the Turks, slaughtering thousands, and driving the rest to the opposite shores of Europe and Asia, while they scoured along the Hellespont, and anchored in triumph within the harbour. But their triumph was short. Mohammed ordered his galleys to be transported over Phanar into the higher parts of the harbour, and laid close siege to the city; the emperor was slain; and after a siege of fifty-three days, Constantinople was taken. The brothers of Constantine, then reigning in Peloponnesus, were indulged by the conqueror with a respite of seven years, on the payment of a tribute of twelve thousand ducats. Mohammed destroyed the rampart of the isthmus, seized the keys of Corinth, and let loose a band of shepherd-robbers from Albania on the defenceless inhabitants of the peninsula; and, as the royal brothers were embroiled in domestic quarrels, which made the weaker of the two appeal to their conqueror, Mohammed took possession of Sparta, married the daughter of Demetrius, and gave to the fallen prince a city in Thrace, together with the neighbouring islands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. Demetrius died in a monastery. His brother Thomas escaped to Corfu, and died, a prisoner of the pope, at Rome.

415. The Venetians, at the time of the crusaders, had gained several towns in the Peloponnesus, to which peninsula they gave the name of Morea, either from its supposed resemblance in form to a mulberry-leaf, or from its abounding in that fruit, or, as others have supposed, from a Venetian word relating to the sea. The holding of these places involved the Venetians in several wars with the Turks. They equipped a strong fleet, and an army of fifteen thousand, and took from the Turks Argo and Bantio, near Corinth, and built a wall with a double moat across

the isthmus. From the siege of Corinth they were compelled, by the loss of one of their commanders, and the approach of a large Turkish army, to retire to Napoli, at the head of the Argolic Gulf. There they were besieged by the Turks, but their resistance was so vigorous that the besiegers abandoned the Morea. In the subsequent wars, the Turks regained, and once more lost, the Morea; but, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, they reconquered it from the Venetians. It was during one of these wars between the Turks and the Athenians, that the Parthenon, and other buildings on the Acropolis of Athens received the greatest injury. The island of Corfu continued in the possession of the Venetians till their government was overthrown by Bonaparte; and in 1800, the Ionian islands, consisting of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, were constituted an independent republic, under the protection of the British government, represented by a lord high commissioner.

416. It has often been remarked by historians, as worthy of observation, that the Turkish conquests in Europe were so soon brought to a close. They never entirely conquered the mountainous regions of Greece. To these fastnesses many of the inhabitants of the lowlands withdrew, as they felt the oppressions of the Turkish government. Those who remained in the plains became serfs to the conquerors, who held the territory by the tenure of military service under the Sultan. About a hundred years after the fall of Constantinople, large bodies of Christians from Albania and Bulgaria entered Bœotia, Argolis, Attica, and the island of Hydra. Multitudes of native Greeks, also, wandered from time to time into Arnatolia (Asia Minor.) The Turkish government of Greece was divided into four provinces of pashalics: the pashalic of *Tripolitz*, in the Morea; *Negropont*, including the island of Eubœa, now called Negropont, with Bœotia, and the eastern district of Phocis; *Salonica*, including the southern portion of Macedonia; *Jannina*, including Epirus, Thessaly, and part of Livadia. Separate governors ruled at Larissa, Livadia, and Athens. Under these governments, a seventh of the produce of the land was demanded as a tax. The Greek peasant was forced to sell his produce at whatever price his tyrants chose, to render contributions in money or in kind, to receive soldiers

quartered upon him, and to labour in the public works. In the level districts of Macedonia and Thessaly, of Bœotia and Negropont, they lived in continual terror of the sword. In the mountains of the Morea, and south of Ceta, more freedom was preserved. In some of the fertile districts, the Greeks enjoyed the protection of the females of the harem, or the priests of the mosques, as they were their tenants. In the islands nearest to the Asiatic coast, the full weight of oppression was felt; but in those which were situated at a greater distance in the Ægean, the bold and mercantile inhabitants maintained a state of comparative independence. The general condition of Greece under the Turkish dominion was one of extreme degradation and misery—aggravated, on the one hand, by the memory of departed glory, and, on the other, by the ignorance, the merciless superstition, and the irritating caprice of their oppressors. In the midst, however, of their sufferings, the Greeks preserved, in a great degree, many of the noble qualities of their forefathers. The lineage was preserved to a wonderful extent. In many of the islands of the Ægean, there were no Turkish inhabitants, and in the mountains of Crete, Laconia, Arcadia, Ætolia, Locris, Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, there were comparatively few. The Wallachians on Mount Pindus, and on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, betrayed, by their language, their descent from the Roman province of Dacia. The Albanians in Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis, retained their foreign dialect. Traces of Italian origin were found in Attica. In the islands and coasts of the Ægean, and from the south of the Morea to the frontier of Macedonia, the language, with slight alterations, the written character, the modes of salutation, the sports, and the superstitions of ancient Greece were largely retained. Nor was the *mind* of Greece wanting in the land of their fathers. While the virtues of industry, patriotism, and enterprise were extinguished by their bondage, the ancient quickness and ingenuity were still displayed—however perversely—in their fickleness, treachery, and turbulence; and the miserable state of poverty, suspicion, and incessant danger to which the oppressions of centuries reduced them, still left enough of the national character to distinguish them from their rulers as the civilized from the barbarians.

417. In the last century, a new power, founded in the north of Europe, became the rival of Turkey. The emperor of Russia inscribed on the gate of Petersburg, "The road to Constantinople," and the possession of Turkey has been the object of ambition from the time of Peter to the present day. In 1769, a war broke out between Russia and Turkey, in preparation for which the Russian court used the most active means to encourage insurrections among the Greeks; but the war was attended with no other consequence than bringing down on the Greeks, when abandoned by the Russians, the vengeance of their rulers, in destroying or enslaving, it has been said, a hundred thousand of both sexes. In less than twenty years after, a similar outbreak between Russia and Turkey ended in disappointment to the Greeks.

418. But the progress of commerce was gradually diffusing a new spirit among that people. Her young men studied in foreign universities; her travellers visited many seas and lands; her military officers acquired distinction in foreign armies; her diplomatists were employed in foreign courts; her mountain retirements nursed a race of bold and hardy men. While the Turks remained stationary in their ignorance, the Greeks revived the older schools of learning, and established new colleges in various parts of the country. At the beginning of the French Revolution, an association, encouraged by the Russians, was formed for promoting general instruction and literary advancement among the Greeks. Imitating the secret German unions of that period, the Greeks living in Germany and Russia formed a confederacy, in which they bound each other by a solemn oath to devote themselves to the service and freedom of their native land. During the progress of this association a course of events was going on in Greece which indirectly, yet effectually, promoted the independence of that country.

419. The north of Epirus, in the ancient Illyria, was occupied by the Albanians, or Arnaouts, a mixed race of Greeks and other nations, only partially subdued by the Turks, though their pashas held a kind of government in some districts, while independent villages and districts acknowledged the authority of native chiefs bearing various titles. One of these native chiefs, of the family of Hissas, in the tribe of Tosche, had made himself master of

Tesseleni, on the left bank of the Voïoussa (Aous), under the title of Bey, which he held as a fœdal subject of the pashalic of Berat. One of his descendants was killed at the siege of Corfu against the Venetians, in the beginning of the last century. His son, Vehli Bey, was hated by the neighbouring chiefs for his friendship towards the Greeks; and, unable to resist their depredations, he died of grief, leaving two wives, two sons, and one daughter to inherit his perilous dignity and his diminished estates. One of his wives, Khamed, was the mother of Ali, who was fourteen years old at his father's death, about the year 1764. During his youth, his mother governed; and he exercised himself in the predatory excursions common among his countrymen. While Ali was absent, his mother and sister were taken by the inhabitants of Gardiki, a town in the neighbouring mountains. As Ali wandered for shelter in the mountains, he found a coffer filled with gold. With this money he raised a body of followers, and encountered the enemies of his power, by whom he was defeated. He then succeeded in uniting these tribes, and became their leader. While plundering the country he fell, first, into the hands of Koort, the pasha of Berat, and then of the pasha of Joannina, the capital of southern Albania, both of whom became his friends. He afterwards accumulated great riches in the service of the pasha of Negropont. By stratagem, and by arms, he added the districts of the neighbouring tribes to his dominions. His wealth enabled him to buy the favour of the Porte, or Turkish government, at Constantinople; and he received a command in the army during the war of the Turks with the Austrians and Russians; and, as a reward for his services in the field, he was appointed to the pashalic of Tricala in Thessaly. By singular craft and perfidy he succeeded in extending his government over the whole of Epirus, and Acarnania, and Ætolia. After much fighting and negotiation with the French, the Russians, and the English, he obtained possession of Parga, opposite the isle of Paxo.

420. For ten years, he carried on a war with the republic of Souli, which ended in the frightful destruction of the people, as they were permitted to retire on condition of their giving up their towns and their lands. Some of them fled to the sea-coast, and found shelter among the Russians on

the island of Corfu ; others were treacherously cut to pieces by Ali's soldiers. One party, surrounded by their enemies, ran towards a precipice, and, casting their children before them, rushed headlong into the abyss. Another party plunged into the Acheron, and were drowned.—Ali carried on his usurpations till he had brought under his rule the whole of Albania and of western Greece, and had obtained from the Porte the office of supreme inspector of the principal division of the empire. He became vizier, or pasha of three tails. His second son was made pasha of Morea.

421. Ali brought upon himself the anger of the sultan by employing assassins to murder Ismael Pasha Bey, one of his officers, in the midst of Constantinople. He was excommunicated by the heads of the Mohammedan religion; and all the pashas of Europe were summoned to march against him. After many a tedious failure in the siege of Joannina, Koorshid, pasha of Morea, forced Ali to retire to a castle on the lake of Joannina, where he had concealed his treasures. Here Ali threatened that he would blow up the castle, and fall with the ruin of his treasures, unless he were pardoned by the sultan. After his surrender, he was stabbed, or shot. His head was sent to the gates of the seraglio, in Constantinople. His sons had perished before him ; and his treasures became the property of the sultan. Under his administration, Joannina had become one of the greatest towns in the empire.

422. The fall of Ali weakened the Turkish empire in Greece, and thus indirectly strengthened the parties there that were becoming increasingly impatient of their yoke. While Ali was pursuing his fierce course, Ithiga, a few years younger than the Albanian free-booter, was performing services of a widely different nature on behalf of his enslaved country. He was born in Thessaly, probably about 1760. While yet a youth, he spent some time in Italy, and travelled through various parts of Europe, enriching his mind with the principles of philosophy, the materials of poetry, and the maxims of commerce. By successful trading, he acquired much wealth ; and he was induced, by his connexion with German mercantile houses, to take up his abode in Vienna. His leisure was devoted to the revival of learning among his fellow-countrymen, as the means of exciting them to achieve, and preparing them

to enjoy, their ancient freedom. He employed scientific men to assist him in making a large map of Greece, a work of great difficulty, but of great value. He rallied round him the Greeks who lived in Germany, and joined them in translating into the Romaic (modern Greek) the works in French, or other languages, which illustrated the former glories, or the present condition, of their country. His songs in the native language were sung to the national airs in all parts of Greece, breathing the most glowing spirit of patriotism. The Porte, irritated, if not alarmed, at his proceedings, demanded him, as his subject, at the court of Vienna. Though the demand was refused in form, the accomplished Greek was privately ordered by the authorities to leave the city. It was the year 1792, when the governments of Europe were appalled by the ferocity that now marked the revolutionists of France. There is some contradiction in the accounts of Rhiga, after his forced withdrawal from Vienna. It seems likely that he was seized by the agents of the Turkish government, and murdered by them on the road from Belgrade to Constantinople.

423. In the year 1814, prince Mavro Kordato, who originated, in Russia, the association formerly mentioned—the *Hetæria*—died, leaving his project in the hands of less patient men, who, relying on expected aid from Russia, were ripe for insurrection. But in the year 1819, Capo D'Istria, a native of Corfu, then a minister in the Russian court, assured them that there was no hope of help from Russia; and he drew up a public document, entitled, “Observations on the Means of meliorating the Condition of the Greeks,”—dissuading them from rash measures, and urging them to devote themselves entirely to the interests of the Greek church under the direction of the clergy. For a year and a half, the Greeks remained quiet, until fresh commotions were excited by the war between Ali and the Porte, in 1821. On the 7th March in that year, Alexander Ypsilanti, the son of a Phanariot Greek, and a major-general in the Russian army, raised the standard of revolt under the sanction, as he gave it out, of the Russian government. But Alexander, the Russian emperor, then at the congress of Laybach, disclaimed any connexion with the movement. Ypsilanti was forced to disband his troops; and, fleeing into Austria, was thrown into a dungeon of the fortress of Mun-

katsch, by order of the government. It is not unlikely that Ypsilanti had been encouraged in this premature revolt by Ali, then in the last throes of this fatal struggle, in which he perished, and by the preparations made throughout the empire for a general conspiracy.

424. Though Ypsilanti failed, resistance to the Turkish government was declared by the archbishop of Patras. The plains of Laconia and Messenia were occupied by the Greek mountaineers. A senate assembled at Kalamata, in the south of Morea. Ships were prepared for the conflict in the islands, whose people had been enriched by trade during the French war. On the other hand, the Porte sent orders to all the pashas to disarm the whole Greek population. On Easter Sunday, the highest festival of the Greek church, Gregorius, patriarch of Constantinople, and head of the Greek church, who had received his appointment from the Porte, and who, a short time before, had denounced the insurgents in Greece, was officiating in the patriarchal church of St. Sophia. After the celebration of worship, this venerable and peaceful ecclesiastic was hanged, together with the three archbishops of Ephesus, Nicomedia, and Anchialos, in front of his church; and his corpse was abandoned to the Jews, who dragged it through the streets of Constantinople. This murder was preceded by that of the Greek prince Morousi, followed by the demolition of many of the Greek churches, and by the destruction of numbers of the highest clergy, as well as of persons of all ranks, dispersed among the Turkish towns.

425. These atrocious cruelties aroused the clergy throughout the Morea and the neighbouring islands. They stirred up the people by pointing to their ruined temples, appealing to the sacred character of their slaughtered primate, and dwelling on the long train of sufferings and oppressions under which the land had groaned. The seeds of discontent were thus scattered through the whole of Greece: there was universal terror, which soon gave way to indignation, and ripened into determined insurrection. The islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, near the coast of Morea, put to sea a force of ninety vessels, mostly of 250 tons, and carrying twelve guns—admirably fitted for the navigation of their narrow channels, amid their sudden storms. Other islanders fitted out fifty or sixty more

vessels, of a smaller class. The Turkish navy, consisting of large ships of war, well manned and mounted, was spread over the Levant; but one of their two-decked ships was separated from the squadron off the isle of Lesbos: one of the small Greek vessels ran close in under her guns, grappled her with cramp-irons, set her on fire, and consumed her.

426. In the following month, the mountains and open plains of the Morea and of Northern Greece were either in the possession of the Greeks or harassed by their inroads, while the Turks sought shelter in their larger towns and fortifications. Thus masters of the Morea, of the Cyclades, and of much of Northern Greece, the patriots declared the property of the Turks to belong to the nation. On this property they negotiated loans, with which, together with contributions of money, besides stores which came from rich Greek merchants, and from foreigners in other countries, they purchased ammunition and arms for themselves, and for the volunteers that now came to them from all parts.

427. The principal leaders in this revolution were Mavro Michaeli, Kolokotroni, Demetrius Ypsilanti, brother of Alexander Ypsilanti, Cataguzene, and Mavro Kordato, a member of one of the Phanariot families in Constantinople, who had acted as secretary to the Hospodar, or governor of Wallachia.

428. In Northern Greece, the Suliotes and the Armatoli, or national militia, had induced the great body of the Greeks to rise in arms against the Turks. Odysseus, or Ulysses, a Livadian chief, who had been a follower of Ali Pasha, spread the flame of revolt through his native province. Diakos, a robber-chief, encouraged the Boeotians to join the general movement, and took possession of Theriopylæ. Athens shook off the yoke, and was followed by Megara, Eubœa (Negropont,) and the people along the Corinthian Gulf. Corinth was attacked, and the garrison driven to the citadel in the impregnable height of the Acro-Corinthus. Missoloughi, in Acarnania, on the Ambracian Gulf, and Anatolia, drove the Turks from their boundaries and fortified their walls. On the other hand, the Turks were not inactive: they reinforced the garrison at Corinth and at Napoli di Romania, destroyed Argos, Livadia, and Thebes, and took Athens by siege: one of their leaders took up his quarters in Tripolitza. The proceedings by sea and land

were retarded for awhile by factions among the Greeks themselves. Notwithstanding these distractions, they wrested from the Turks the fortresses of Arcadia, Napoli di Malvasia, and Navarino, on the western coast. After a tedious blockade, the garrison of Tripolitza was forced to surrender; and notwithstanding the promises and the exertions of the Greek commanders, their followers gave way to their revenge and their love of plunder, and put fifteen thousand of their humbled enemies to death.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

Surrender of Corinth—Declaration of Independence in 1822—Opposition—Greeks overcome at Missolonghi—Scio—Its inhabitants and possessions—Insurrection and murder—Succession of wars between Greeks and Turks—Death of the Pasha—Surrender of Napoli di Romania—Change in Greece in 1823—Military government—Colonel Gordon and Lord Byron—Turkish campaign, 1825—Taking of Navarino and Messenia—Threat of Ibrahim Pasha—Interference of the European powers—Proposals of peace—Refused—Destruction of Turkish and Egyptian navy—Formation of a monarchical government in Greece—Revolt of the Mainotes—Murder of the president—Otto becomes sovereign of Greece in 1832.

429. AFTER the taking of Tripolitza, Corinth yielded to the troops of Ypsilanti. A congress of sixty deputies from the islands of the Morea, and from Roumelia, was held at Epidaurus, in the gulf of Ægina—Mavro Kordato was chosen president. On the first day of the year 1822, this assembly published a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. In a few weeks, they drew up a Constitution for the government of Independent Greece. It was just at this time that Ali Pasha fell; and his fall allowed the Porte to direct all its forces to destroy the independence of the Greeks. The preparations were vigorous and well-arranged. The forces engaged against Joannina were ordered to drive the Suliotcs from their strongholds, to take Missolonghi, and then to cross the gulf to Morea. A new army from Macedonia and Thessaly was to pass Thermopylæ, reduce Boeotia, Livadia, and Attica, to pass along the Isthmus, and, having reconquered Corinth, to join the western army at Tripolitza. The western army defeated the Greeks in two battles, and forced them to retire to their fortifications at Missolonghi.

430. The Isle of Scio, near the Gulf of Smyrna, one of the most beautiful islands of the *Ægean*, had long been distinguished for its wealth and civilisation; for its comparative independence; for its college, to which the higher ranks of Greece repaired for education; and for its noble collection of modern books. The people of Scio had hitherto taken no share in the insurrection, and, as a proof of their submission to the Turkish government, had sent hostages to Constantinople. A slight insurrection, however, in which the bulk of the population took no part, occurred in the month of March, 1822. Six thousand men landed from the Turkish fleet, under the command of the Capitan Pasha Ali, and scattered the insurgents. The peaceful inhabitants were assured of safety, and the insurgents were induced, by promises of clemency, to give up their arms. But the Capitan Pasha sent his men through the city with orders to slaughter all the inhabitants, and to burn down all the houses but those of the consuls. The peasantry found in the plains were butchered. More than twenty thousand human beings were murdered in their dwellings. Twenty thousand of the youngest and fairest were sold as slaves in the cities of Asia. The Sciote merchants found in Constantinople were impaled alive. Some of the wretched fugitives found refuge in the mountains, where they wandered about, hungry and wounded, till they died with broken hearts; and others escaped to Ipsara, and the neighbouring coast. An eye-witness reports of this horrid massacre: "On whatever side I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, murder, and conflagration. While some were employed in plundering the villas of rich merchants, and others in setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the swords and daggers of the infidels. Many of the women, whose husbands had been butchered, were running to and fro, frantic, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, pressing their infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a relief from the still greater calamities that awaited them!"

431. The monster who was guilty of these barbarities soon came to his end. His flag-ship was discovered near the coast, in the light of the rising moon, by Constantine Kanaris, who set the ship on fire with his own hand, es-

caped in his boat, and immediately saw the huge vessel wrapped in flames. The Capitau, hurrying from the conflagration, was crushed to death by the fall of a blazing mast.

432. The provisional government of Greece were just about taking possession of Napoli di Romania, when Kurchid Pasha sent from Thessaly an army of thirty thousand men led by Drama Ali, through Thermopylæ. They desolated Attica, and retook Athens. From Athens they passed the Isthmus, occupied Corinth and Argos, and relieved the blockaded garrison at Napoli di Romania. But the passes near the Argolic plain were held, and the crops, on which the Turks had relied for provision, were destroyed by the Greeks. In forcing their way back to Corinth, the Turks suffered dreadfully from the fire of the Greeks on the heights. The passes between Corinth and Thermopylæ, and the other passes, were now guarded by Odysseus, so that the communication between Drama Ali and Kurchid Pasha was cut off. Drama Ali died at Corinth, of an epidemic fever. The garrison surrendered to Ypsilanti, Kolokrotoni, and Mavro Michaeli. When the pasha, still in Thessaly, heard of these disasters, he ended his life by poison.

433. After the exploit of Kanaris, in which the Turkish admiral perished, the command of the fleet was given to Kara Mohammed. On his approach to the Gulf of Argos, to relieve the garrison at Napoli di Romania, he was scared away by the Greek fire-ships, commanded by Miavondis, and, retreating to Tenedos, nearly met the fate of his predecessor from the same hand; for Kanaris fired his ship, in which the whole crew were consumed, while the admiral escaped in his pinnace. Napoli di Romania, the most important point in the Morea, now surrendered to the Greeks. The Turks were likewise driven from the siege of Missolonghi.

434. In the following year, 1823, a great change took place in Greece. The military party took the lead in the government. The dissensions of parties led to a second war. Mohammed Ali, the pasha of Egypt, was induced by the Porte to join the sultan in putting down the revolution. While the prospects of Greece were thus becoming dark, the sympathies of Europe began to be moved. Money was

raised by loan in England. Colonel Gordon and lord Byron arrived in Greece in 1824. In the summer, the civil war was quelled by the senate, and the rebellious chiefs were confined in the isle of Hydra.

435. The Turkish fleet repeated at Ipsara the tragedy of Scio ; but they were defeated in several engagements with the Greeks. In the following year, 1825, the Turks renewed the campaign with increased energy : they took Navarino, and laid siege to Missolonghi, and gained possession of the whole of Messenia. The Greeks were paralyzed by their ruinous dissensions, while the Turks were gathering strength, and took possession of Missolonghi. Of the whole Morea, only Napoli di Romania, Corinth, and Napoli di Malvasia were in the hands of the native government. After an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Athens, which finally fell into the power of the Turks, the government held its sittings at Ægina ; but northern Greece had submitted ; the islanders were disheartened ; Corinth was sold to a band of Suliotes ; the chiefs quarrelled among themselves ; the people were wandering, without power or hope, over their ruined vineyards and uprooted olive-groves, retiring to the mountains, or crowding in the towns, where they were carried off by pestilence. Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali, pasha of Egypt, was approaching to fulfil his threat—"to make the Morea one vast ruin."

436. From this inevitable ruin the Greeks were at length saved by the European powers, who, though they had refused to hear the Greeks at the congress of Verona in 1822, now became sensible of the necessity of interfering. Russia, France, and England entered into a treaty, offering their mediation to the Porte, to put an end to the war. The Turks rejected the offered mediation, but the Greeks received it with joy. The combined fleets of the three powers assembled at Navarino, while Ibrahim was ravaging the Morea. The three admirals proposed to Ibrahim that he should return to Egypt ; but the Turkish fleet fired on the boat which conveyed the flag of truce. A general engagement followed, and the Turkish and Egyptian navy was destroyed.

437. Count Capo D'Istria reached Morea in January, 1828, and became president of the government of Greece. In the autumn of that year, the last remains of the Turkish

armament disappeared. In about a year after, the sultan, harassed at the time by the Russians on the north-western frontiers of his empire, assented to the treaty before-mentioned, and the independence of Greece was secured.

438. The government of Capo D'Istria was far from being popular: it became necessary to form a regular monarchical government. As it was determined that the new king must be one of royal rank, the president was excluded; and as it was likewise determined to exclude all persons belonging to the families of the allied sovereigns, the conference, after considering the claims of several European princes, fixed on Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as most eligible. But the Greeks had not been consulted in this choice; and they threw considerable difficulties in the way. The president availed himself of these difficulties, and, in his correspondence with Leopold, gave him such pictures of the state of public feeling, that he declined the acceptance of the throne of Greece.

439. A deputation waited on the president to propose the calling of a national assembly, which he refused. Many of the chiefs revolted from his authority. Among these were the Mainotes. When their revolt was put down, the family of the Mavro Michaelis lost their authority in their native province; and they were removed to Napoli, where the last governor, his brother, and his son, were strictly watched and guarded. On the 9th of October, 1831, the president was expected in the church of St. Spiridion, in Napoli. As soon as he reached the porch, one of the humbled chiefs stabbed him, while his brother, from behind, shot him dead.—Several candidates for the new throne appeared, after Leopold's resignation. But in 1833, Otho, second son of the king of Bavaria, then sixteen years of age, was chosen by the three powers, Russia, France, and England, with the consent of the nation, as the hereditary sovereign of Greece.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRIVATE LIFE AND MANNERS OF THE GREEKS.

Sketch of the principal Grecian cities—Athens—Acropolis—Parthenon—Eretheum—Treasury—Different gates of the City—Principal public buildings—Temples—Porticoes—Museum—Odeum—Forum—Council Chamber—Pylæum—Statues—Stadium—Lyceum—Cynosarges—Academia—View from the Acropolis—Scene from the Parthenon—Description of Corinth—Prospect from the Acro-Corinthus—Variety of Grecian manners—Account of their habits—Education of Athenian children—Grecian youth—Domestic usages—Private customs—Order of a feast—Dress—Marriage Ceremony—Classification of Athenian people—Number—Slaves—How distinguished—Arcopagus—Laws—Custom in sickness—Funeral Solemnities—Tombs—Principal deities—Priestly offices—Description of Panathenæa—Eleusinian—Festival—Dionysia—Luxurious life of Athenians—Games.

440. BEFORE we survey the customs and manners of the Greeks, it may be well to sketch a small picture of two of their principal cities. *Athens*, the city of Attica, and the most famous and splendid of the Grecian cities, was in the earliest time called Cecropia, from Cecrops, its founder, 1,554 years before Christ. Afterwards it was called Athenæ, from Minerva. It was frequently called "The City." The citadel was in a high rock called the Acropolis, or the Upper City; the buildings on the plain at the foot of the rock are called the Lower City. The Acropolis, or Upper City, six miles in circumference, was planted with olives, fenced with wooden paling, fortified with strong walls on the south and north, and adorned with nine gates. The principal buildings in the Acropolis were the following. The Propylæa; the temple called "Victory," in which was a statue of Minerva, as Victory, with a pomegranate in her right hand, and in her left a helmet; *the Parthenon*:—The *Eretheum*—one part dedicated to Neptune, and the other to Minerva. In this temple were—the olive, said to have been produced by Minerva; and the image of the goddess, believed to have fallen from heaven, and regarded as the palladium, or safeguard, of the City. Behind this temple stood the Treasury, dedicated to Jupiter and Plutus. Connected with this were two small chapels; the small temple of Minerva, and a temple of Venus.

441. The principal gates of the Lower City were distinguished by the following names :—*Ceramica*, leading to the Ceramicus, in the suburbs ; the *Piræan*, leading to the harbour of Piræus, from which were the long walls, with turrets, joining the harbour to the city ; the *Heriæ*, through which the dead were carried to their burial place ; the *Hiera*, opening on the Sacred Way to Eleusis ; the *Ægean* ; the *Gate of Diornechares* ; the *Acharnæan*, on the road to *Achaina*, the principal borough town of Attica ; the *Diolmæan*, towards another borough town, of that name ; the *Thracian Gate* ; the *Itonian Gates* ; the *Scæan Gate* ; the *Gate of Hadrian*, entering the part of the city rebuilt by that emperor. The streets of Athens were neither regular nor handsome ; but, as in modern cities, they were distinguished by separate names.

442. The principal public buildings and places of the Lower City, were—the *Pompeian*, at the entrance of the old city, looking towards the harbour of Phalerum, enriched with statues of Athenian heroes, and containing the sacred vessels used at the public festivals ; the *Temple of Vatican*, near the Ceramicus, (within the city,) and used as a prison ; the *Temple of Venus Urama* ; the *Temple of Theseus* ; the *Temple of Castor and Pollux* ; the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius* ; the *Temple of Apollo and Pan* ; the *Temple of Diana* ; the *Pantheon*, or *Temple of all the Gods*, supported by one hundred and twenty marble columns ; the *Temple of the Eight Winds*, a marble tower, containing a water clock, of eight sides, with figures on the top pointing to the direction of the winds ; the *Porticoes*, of which there were many, some used by public teachers, and others by the young men in their exercises and games ; the *Museum* ; the *Odeum*, in the Ceramicus, within the city, a theatre for music ; the *Old Forum*, where the public assemblies were held, in the Ceramicus, a large semi-circular area of twelve thousand square yards. Here were several buildings :—the *Council Chamber* ; the *Prytaneum*, where the president of the assembly entertained distinguished citizens at the public charge ; the statues of the *Ten Heroes of Athens* ; the *Altar of the Twelve Gods*, which was the centre from which all distances were measured ; the *Stadium*, so called from its length, (stadium, one-eighth of a Roman mile,) near the Ilissus ; the *Lyceum*, dedicated to Apollo, on the banks

of the Ilissus, where Aristotle taught his philosophy; the Cynosarges, adorned with temples, and laid out in shady walks, and containing a gymnasium, and a court of justice; the *Academia*, situated in the grounds called Ceramicus, three quarters of a mile from the city, where Plato taught his philosophy. The *Theatres* were dedicated to Bacchus and to Venus.

443. Let the reader now imagine himself standing on the Acropolis, under a bright clear sky. Looking to the west, you see the Areopagus, a lower hill of irregular form; and below that, towards the south-west, a broad valley, the Agora, public place, where the people assembled for business. Above this valley, on the south-west, is the Pnyx, where, in ancient times, the orators addressed the citizens. To the south, or left hand, is a fourth hill, called the Museum. Looking on towards the south-west, you have a view of the sea at the distance of four miles, and, on the coast, the harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and Piræus. Beyond the Piræus is the gulf of Salamis; to the right the isle of Salamis; in the distance, on the left, Ægina; and beyond, more towards the north, the lofty Acropolis of Corinth. Between Athens and the sea, in a south-easterly direction, Mount Thymettus stretches into a promontory opposite to the temple of Minerva, on the north-eastern angle of Ægina. Towards the harbours, two streams, both flowing from the north-east—the Ilissus on the left, and the Cephissus on the right—are lost in the marshy grounds. Turning towards the north, you see, about a mile off, mount Lycabettus, a high rock of a sugar-loaf form. To the north-west, the Sacred Way leads to Eleusis, through the Ceramicus, past the Academy, across the Cephissus, and over the heights of Mount Ægaleos, where Xerxes sat on his silver-footed throne to view the battle of Salamis. The view to the north is of the plains of Attica, bounded on the west by Phyle and mount Cithæron, beyond which is the battle-field of Platæa. Turning to the east, mount Pentelicus, rich in marble, rises at a distance of seven or eight miles; and east of that is the plain of Marathon, opposite to the island of Eubœa.

444. Dr. E. Clarke, the eminent traveller, thus describes a sunset view from the Parthenon, on the Acropolis of Athens:—"As evening drew on, the lengthening shadows

began to blend all the lesser tints, and to give breadth and a bolder outline to the vast objects in the glorious prospect seen from this building, so as to exhibit them in distinct masses. The surface of the Sinus Saronicus, completely land-locked, resembled that of a shining lake surrounded by mountains of majestic form, and illustrious in the most affecting recollections. There is not one of these mountains but may be described, in the language of our classic bard, as 'breathing inspiration.' Every portion of territory comprehended in the general survey, has been rendered memorable as the scene of some conspicuous event in Grecian story, either as the land of genius or the field of heroism; as honoured by the poet's cradle or the patriot's grave; as exciting the remembrance of all by which human nature has been adorned and dignified, or as proclaiming the awful mandate which ordains that not only talents and virtue, but also states and empires, and even the earth itself, shall pass away. The declining sun, casting its last rays upon the distant summits of Peloponnesus, and tinging with parting glory the mountains of Argolis and Achaia, gave a grand but mournful solemnity both to the natural and moral prospect. It soon disappeared. Emblematical of the intellectual darkness now covering these once enlightened regions, night came on, shrouding every feature of the landscape with a dusky veil." The same accomplished traveller says of the view of Athens from the defile of Daphne, on the road to Eleusis, "There is no spot whence Athens may be seen that can compare with this view."

445. Having thus endeavoured to describe Athens, we may attempt a similar description of Corinth, often spoken of by modern writers as the "Gibraltar of Greece." The city is a mile and a half south of the gulf of the same name, and south of the city, rises, to the height of nearly nineteen hundred feet, the Acro-corinthus. Its harbour on the Corinthian gulf is Lechæum; and that on the Saronic gulf, five miles off, is Cenchræa. It was the centre of connexion between the north and south of Greece; and its harbours communicated with the nations of the west and of the east. The importance of such a situation was increased by the Isthmian Games, which were celebrated within seven miles of the city. And so fertile in corn and in olives was the neighbouring district, stretching along the northern shore

of the gulf towards Sicyon, that an ancient oracle is reported to have said to one who inquired the road to wealth, "Get possession of the land between Corinth and Sicyon." Nor was it the least advantage to this city, that it was better supplied with water than any other city in Greece.—We may see the importance of such a position for the principal Christian church of Greece in the apostolic age. And, with the recollections of these local circumstances, and of the ancient history which we have been reviewing, we cannot but feel the beauty as well as the force of those passages which refer to them, in the epistles to that church. "For I think God hath set forth us, the apostles, the last, as it were, appointed unto death: for we are made a spectacle (in the amphitheatre) unto the world, and to angels, and to men." "I die daily." I have fought with "beasts at Ephesus." "Know ye not that they which run in a race (the stadium) run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain." "And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown (a wreath of parsley, or of pine-leaves), but we an incorruptible."—"I, therefore, so run, not as uncertainly: so fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest, that by any means, when I have preached (proclaimed the race) to others, I myself should be a castaway"—(one rejected as unfit for the contest.)

446. As we have given Dr. E. Clarke's sunset view from Athens, we may now accompany him to the Acro-corinthus of Corinth.

"We reached this gate before sunset; and had, as is always usual, from the tops of the Grecian mountains, a more glorious prospect than can be seen in any other part of Europe. Wheler calls it 'the most agreeable prospect this world can give.' And, as from the Parthenon at Athens we had seen the citadel of Corinth, so now we had a commanding view, across the Sinus Saronicus, of Salamis, and of the Athenian Acropolis. Looking down upon the Isthmus, the shadow of the Acro-Corinthus, of a conical shape, extended exactly half across its length, the point of the cone being central between the two seas. Towards the north, we saw Parnassus covered with snow, and Helicon and Cithæron. Nearer the eye appeared the mountain

Gerania, between Megara and Corinth. But the prospect which we surveyed was by no means so extensive as that seen by Wheler; because we were denied admission to the fortress, which concealed a part of our view to the right."

4-17. The customs and manners of the Greeks, it may be easily understood, were various, in the separate territories into which the country was divided. The mountaineers were hardy, bold, hospitable; but rude and jealous. The inhabitants of the plains were more cultivated, as having more intercourse with each other, and with the people of different states. The natives of the coasts were, for the most part, fierce and enterprising pirates, excepting as they might be employed in merchandise, or engaged in regular war. As we know more of Athens than of other parts of Greece, we gather from the remains of numerous ancient writers the following description of their habits.

4-18. When a child was born, the Athenian nurse washed him in warm water, or anointed him with oil, and then wrapped him in swaddling bands. Sometimes they placed him on a shield, that when he grew up he might be excited by noble examples; or upon some other implement resembling what might be his future employment. When the child was five days old, he was carried round the hearth, dedicated to the household gods, and received presents from friends. Several other days were marked as festivals. In the presence of assembled friends, the father named the child, either from some illustrious ancestor, or after some qualities or actions of his own. Among the Spartans, as we have seen, the weak or deformed children, especially daughters, were cast into a deep cavern in the rugged mountain Taygetus. The Thebans forbade the exposure of children, but the Athenians killed them, or exposed them to danger in some desert place. The Greek children of all ranks were nursed by their own mothers; though, in some cases, hired nurses were employed. It was the custom of the Greek nurse, when out of doors, to carry a sponge dipped in honey, which she put to the infant's mouth when he cried. They also soothed their infants with a peculiar kind of songs, or frightened them into quiet with a figure called *mormolukeion*. Lawfully born children were free of the city of their birth, and inherited the property of their parents. Children were adopted, who became free,

and also heirs. In case a man left no children, his nearest relation succeeded to his privileges and his property. By the laws of Solon, citizens were allowed to leave their property, by will, to whom they pleased, under certain conditions. The honours derived by inheritance consisted chiefly in receiving a public education suited to the person's rank, and sometimes in a maintenance at the public cost. The duties of filial piety were rigidly enforced, both by the laws, and by the dread of divine anger. Sons and daughters washed and anointed the feet of their parents; revenged any injuries or insults offered to them; engaged protectors for them when they were absent; and provided a comfortable maintenance for their old age. Parents might disinherit their children for disobedience or extravagance; but this could be done only by the interference of the magistrates. Under the same authority, likewise, parents might be reconciled to such children, and restore them to their forfeited rights; but, having once restored them, they could never afterwards renounce them.

449. The boys, when very young, were taught the elements of arts and sciences, philosophy, history, poetry, rhetoric, music, gymnastic exercises, and painting. The sons of rich men had private masters, to teach them the fine arts, and to train them in bodily exercise. The principal public schools were, at Athens—the Academy, the Lyceum, the Portico, the Cynosargus; and at Corinth, the Craneion. The youth of Greece were encouraged to noble undertakings by their elders, who took them from their friends, entertained them with hunting, and presented them each with a cup, an ox, a suit of armour, and other presents, before they returned home. The attachment thus formed was regulated by the laws, was considered highly honourable, and generally continued through life.

450. At the rising sun, and in the evening, the Greeks enjoyed their repasts. Some writers represent them as having three meals; and others, four. Their food consisted of bread made of barley, or of coarser flour; salt and water, sometimes mixed with olive oil. They made much use of a mixture called *throu*, composed of rice, cheese, eggs, and honey, which was wrapped in fig-leaves; and another mixture of cheese, garlic, and eggs. The poor lived principally on hollow loaves, into which some kind of

sauce was put, made from garlic or onions. In the earlier ages, the Greeks abstained from animal food. The first kind of animal food was that of swine: the flesh of oxen was forbidden for many ages, and it was not at any time usual to kill animals when young. In the public entertainments, at Sparta, the chief diet was "black broth." The Athenians were lovers of both fresh and salted fish, and of roasted rather than boiled meats. Their second courses consisted of sweetmeats, almonds, nuts, figs, peaches, and other fruits. In the more ancient times, excessive attention to the art of cookery was discouraged; but after the settlement of Grecian colonies in Sicily, more attention was paid to this art. Generally their mode of living was plain, and the greatest frugality was seen even in their most public entertainments. Their usual beverage was water, which, in summer, was cooled with ice. Wine was generally mixed with water, and sometimes perfumed. The Greeks, in cities, lived much in society. Five guests were the usual number at a private party, and at the *sis-sitia*, or common meal, not more than ten. Public entertainments were restricted to the number of thirty. Intimate friends visited each other at the hours of entertainment without the forms of invitation. Strangers who accompanied invited guests were called shadows and parasites. Men and women were never invited together to the same entertainments. Great attention was paid to washing and anointing, or perfuming the person, before going to a feast.

451. On the arrival of guests, the master of the house joined right hands with them, and kissed the lips or the hands; after which they spent some time in viewing the house, or furniture, before sitting down to eat. Instead of sitting, the progress of eastern luxury among the Asiatic Greeks introduced the habit of reclining on couches, at their meals. Before eating, part of the food was offered to the gods. The guests were dressed in white, or some gay colour. The master of the house provided garlands of flowers or ivy-leaves. A rose, placed above the table, was a sign that what was said at the table was to be kept private. Myrrh, frankincense, and other fragrant odours, were often burned in the apartment. Drunkenness was regarded as a crime, and punished by the magistrates. At the close of the feast a libation of wine, with a prayer, was

offered ; then a hymn was sung, followed by conversation, music, dancing, and games, according to the tastes of the company.

452. The dress of the Greeks consisted of a tunic, or under-garment, which was common to both men and women. The exterior robe of men was a pallium, or cloak ; and of the women, a peplos, or vest without sleeves. Females also wore a stole, or long garment reaching to the feet, or a kerchief round the neck, and, out of doors, a short cloak over the shoulders. Philosophers used the cloak worn by the poor, which was made of a light stuff. Shepherds wore a peculiar dress of skin ; and the habit of slaves was bordered at the bottom with sheep-skin. The Greeks of both sexes wore a great variety of sandals, distinguished in their language by different names. The only covering used for the head by men was a kind of hat, though the ancients always went uncovered. The female head-dress consisted of fillets, nets, veils, pendants, and necklaces. The Athenians wore on their heads cicadæ—grasshoppers of gold—to intimate that they sprang from Attic soil.

453. Among the Grecian states, marriage was honoured, and encouraged by the laws. Instances of polygamy were rare. The degrees of consanguinity within which marriage was forbidden varied in different states. The consent of parents was strictly required. In early times, wives were purchased ; but in later times, they received a dowry. Marriage was preceded by numerous ceremonies, performed by both parties, and by their respective friends. In the evening of the day of marriage, the bride was conducted in a car from her father's house to her husband's, preceded by torch-bearers, and troops of singers and dancers ; and the festivities lasted for several days.—The habits of women were secluded ; and they were seldom seen except by members of their own family. The Spartan women were trained up in a manner little differing from that of men.

454. The inhabitants of Athens were divided into three classes,—citizens, sojourners, and slaves. In the age of Pericles, the number of citizens was twenty thousand, of sojourners, ten thousand of slaves four hundred thousand. The citizens were grouped in tribes, and most of the hundred and seventy-four boroughs of Attica be-

longed to one or other of these tribes. The sojourners were persons from foreign countries, who settled in Attica. They were publicly received and registered. They had no vote in the assemblies of the citizens. They were distinguished from citizens, further, by paying peculiar taxes, and performing special services. Each sojourner was required by law to choose from among the citizens a patron, who managed his business, and protected him from civil injury. The slaves were those who had become such from poverty, or in war, and those who were bought, or born in slavery. The former class might change their masters, or obtain their freedom; the latter were the absolute property of their masters. Slaves were distinguished by their dress, were not allowed to plead, or to appear as witnesses; and they might be subjected to torture. If they were oppressed they were allowed to take refuge in the temple of Theseus. They were publicly sold in the market. Most of the menial services, and the lower kinds of mechanical labour, were performed entirely by slaves.

455. The citizens of Athens assembled voluntarily to discuss the affairs of the commonwealth; and, on important occasions, they were specially summoned. Some of their meetings were held in the market-place, in the theatre of Bacchus, or in the Pnyx. The senate of four hundred met in the Prytaneum. The Areopagus, or hill of Mars, on the west of the Acropolis, gave its name to the venerable assembly of the elders who presided in all trials affecting life, guarded the morals of the young and the solemnities of religion, in cases of great danger or difficulty interfered with public or political affairs, and superintended the taxes and the public funds. Their proceedings were conducted in the open air, at night, and with much religious solemnity. After the time of Pericles, this ancient court lost much of its authority.—There were many other courts for both criminal and civil causes. The laws were proposed to the senators, and afterwards to the citizens in the assembly. They were revised every year. They were written on tablets, and engraved on the walls of the royal portico. The Athenians did not permit any citizen to speak in the senate, or in the assembly of the people, before he was thirty years of age; nor then, if he could be proved guilty of cowardice, extravagance, or gross immorality

—especially any act of dishonour towards his parents. The approval of the senate and the people was required before any citizen could practise medicine, or teach philosophy.

456. When an Athenian was seized with mortal sickness, branches of white bramble, to keep off evil spirits, and of laurel, were used to propitiate Apollo, or the sun, to whom diseases were ascribed. On the near approach of death, the sick man prayed to Mercury, who was believed to convey the souls of men to the shades below: their friends caught their last words with reverence, and tried to receive their expiring breath. In speaking of death, they usually referred to it as a departure, or a falling asleep. The ceremonies of washing and anointing the dead were performed by the female relatives, who afterwards wrapped the body in a white garment, and decked it with flowers and garlands, and placed it near the entrance of the house, with the feet towards the gate. Before the funeral, a piece of money, to pay the fare for the passage across the Infernal river, was placed in the mouth of the corpse, together with a cake, to appease Cerberus, the watch-dog of the regions of death. The hair of the dead person was hung at the door, where a vessel of water also stood, for the purification of the living. The funeral ceremonies commenced in the morning. In early times, the corpse was carried on the shoulders of the bearers, but afterwards a bier was used; in Sparta, the dead were carried to burial on their shields. When the body left the house, certain forms of farewell were used. The procession of mourners consisted of the male relatives, and the older female relatives, who attended on horseback, in carriages, or on foot, clothed in black, and following the dead by torch-lights, accompanied by plaintive hymns, and the music of flutes. The funeral pile was heaped with the garments of the deceased. The fire was kindled by the relations, who invoked the winds to consume the body quickly, and poured on the ground libations of wine, calling on the name of the deceased. When the flames had expired, they gathered the bones and the ashes, which, after being washed in wine, and anointed with oil, were placed in urns of earth or stone, wood, silver, or gold, according to the condition of the parties. Kings and persons of high rank were interred near the foot of a

mountain; private persons in places set apart for that purpose, sometimes within their cities. The tombs were sometimes adorned with pillars, enriched with fragrant perfumes, and wreathed with garlands of flowers, on which inscriptions were engraven. Monuments raised to the dead in places not containing their remains were called cenotaphs. An oration was usually pronounced at the burial, after which the procession returned to offer sacrifice, and to partake of an entertainment. For very eminent persons, funeral games were instituted, and repeated on the anniversary of their death. To neglect the funeral ceremonies was branded as an impious crime: as it was believed that until these rites were completed, the souls of the departed would not enter the Elysian shades, or the state of the happy. It was not lawful to speak ill of the dead.

457. The religion of the early Greeks in the Heroic age, was described in the third chapter. In the progress of the nation, the number of their deities was multiplied; their temples became more splendid, and their ceremonials more elaborate. So anxious were the Athenians not to omit the worship of any deity, that Pausanias, who travelled through Greece about the year one hundred and seventy, mentions, in his description of Athens, that they dedicated "Altars to the unknown God." It was one of these altars that caught the eye of the apostle Paul, as he walked up and down the city of Athens, and which he mentions in his discourse, delivered on the Areopagus, as one of the proofs of the extraordinary attention paid by the Athenians to religious worship, and as affording him a happy occasion for introducing them to the knowledge of the "only living and true God," and Jesus Christ his Son. As it was the province of the court of Areopagus to superintend the religious worship of the Athenians, and to decree the introduction of anything new, we see the reason why the apostle delivered what he had to say in that particular place. "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods (they said,) because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection. And they took him, and brought him to the Areopagus."*

458. The principal deities of the Greeks, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Minerva, Mercury, Mars, Diana, were worshipped, probably at all times, with a belief of their superior nature,

* Acts xvii. 18, 19.

or as forms of the one creating power ; but the adoration paid to heroes was of an inferior kind.

459. The country abounded with temples, altars, oracles, and other sacred places. Prayers were offered at the rising and setting of the sun. A great variety of offices existed among their priests, who were maintained by the sacrifices, and by the fruits of land consecrated to their use. The sacrifices were free gifts, expressing gratitude and fulfilling vows ; or they were propitiatory, designed to avert the anger, or to insure the favour, of Heaven ; and they were all preceded and accompanied by ceremonies which were most rigidly enforced by law as well as by custom. Divination, of almost innumerable kinds, formed part of their religion. All their festivals were religious, in honour of some or other of their gods.—Instead of a bare catalogue of festivals, a brief description of the Panathenæa at Athens, of the procession to Eleusis, and of the great Dionysian festival in honour of Bacchus, will afford the best idea of the religious sports of the most religious of the Grecian cities.

460. The Panathenæa, a solemnity in honour of Minerva, (Athenè,) as the protectress of Athens, was divided into two, the Lesser and the Greater. The lesser was held every third, the greater every fifth, year. The lesser Panathenæa had ten presidents, one from each of the ten tribes of the citizens. It consisted of a torch-race, and horse and foot-races, wrestling, imitations of sea-fights, contests between poets, and the Pyrrhic dance, performed by boys in armour. Each Athenian borough contributed an ox, which, being offered in sacrifice, the multitude enjoyed the remainder of the flesh in a public entertainment.

461. The greater Panathenæa differed from the lesser only in the greater magnificence of the spectacles, and in the procession to the citadel. In the brightest part of the summer, the elder men and matrons, carrying olive-branches in their hands, were followed by the younger men with their shields and spears, attended by the sojourners, carrying small boats, emblems of their foreign birth, and followed by the Athenian women, who were attended by the wives of sojourners carrying water-pots. These were followed by young Athenians crowned with millet, and singing hymns to Minerva, and a band of chosen virgins carrying baskets, attended by the daughters of sojourners carrying umbrellas and small seats. The boys came last, in dresses worn only on such occasions.

At the head of this long train was carried the sacred *peplos*, or vest of Minerva, woven, without sleeves, by selected virgins. The *peplos* was white, with the deeds of Minerva, Jupiter, and famous heroes, wrought in embroidery of gold. It was carried on the mast of a vessel, resembling a ship, up the western slope of the Acropolis, through the centre gate of the Propylæa, passing the temple of Victory on the right, and, on the left, the bronze statue of Minerva Promachus, or champion, seventy feet high, with helmet, spear, and shield, looking over the Areopagus and the Agora towards the Ægean sea. Turning, and rising towards the right was the Parthenon, on the frieze of which the procession was represented in marble; and a little to the north of the Parthenon, was the small temple containing the statue of Minerva, which was to be adorned with the peplos. During this solemnity, the hymns of Homer were sung; prayers were offered for the prosperity of the Plataeans; prisoners were set free; and golden crowns were presented to the meritorious in the presence of the charioteers, priests, and citizens.

462. The most solemn of the Greek festivals was the Eleusinian. The ceremonies were performed at Eleusis, on the northern shore of the gulf of Salamis, and were dedicated to Ceres, to whom the Greeks owed the introduction of corn into their country, and whom their fables represented as instituting these solemnities, in token of her gratitude for the hospitality of the Greeks when she was seeking her daughter, to teach the uninitiated the arts of agriculture and the mysteries of a future state. Every Athenian, of either sex, was required to receive initiation into the mysteries. The priest who conducted the solemnity was called the Hierophant; or revealer of holy things. The ceremonies lasted nine days. The candidates for initiation were bound to prepare themselves by washing in the sea, by offering sacrifice, and by watching and fasting. Processions marched from Athens by the Eleusinian gate, along the Sacred Way, and entered Eleusis by the Gate of Mystery. The usual shows and games attended this celebration. They marched by torchlight round the temple of Ceres, singing hymns to her praise. The initiated were sworn, by the most awful oaths, not to reveal what they had

463. As the Greeks ascribed the olive to Minerva, and corn to Ceres, so they ascribed the introduction of the vine to Bacchus. Dionysius was one of the titles of this deity. Many festivals were celebrated to his honour, under various names, throughout the whole of Greece. The Dionysia was the most splendid. It was conducted by priests and magistrates. It differed from other festivals in the carrying of vessels filled with wine, the wearing of garlands of ivy, fir, the vine-leaf, and violet; in running about the hills with loud cries; in mimicking the manners of the drunken; and in other ceremonies which it is impossible to describe. From the number and variety of these festivals, which were provided at the public charge, we may form some idea of the idle and luxurious life of Athenian citizens.

464. The GAMES have been referred to in a former chapter. It need only be added here, that the Olympian, at Elis, were in honour of Jupiter: and the prize was a wreath of wild olive. The Pythian, at Delphi, were in honour of Apollo, and the crown of the victor was of laurel, palm, or beech. In the Nemean, in memory of one of the Theban champions, or in honour of Jupiter—the crown was parsley. In the Isthmian, in honour of Neptune, the crown was anciently of pine-leaves, but afterwards of withered parsley.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE TRADE, COMMERCE, AND WEALTH OF THE GREEKS.

Various pursuits of the Greeks—Productions of Attica—Wines—Fishes—Woodlands—Commerce—Attic coin—Various exportations and importations—Private houses—Slaves—Horses—Value of different animals—Corn—Public warehouses—Cheap and expensive articles—Wages—Fares—Pensions—Interest—Foreigners—Estimate of Athenian wealth.

465. THOUGH the Greeks were not what we understand by a manufacturing or commercial people, they manufactured to some extent, as well as cultivated the soil. They abounded, from the time of the Persian wars, in gold and silver; they paid large sums of money in various ways, both in peace and in war; and several other cities, Corinth

and Athens, and also some of the Ionian cities, carried on a considerable foreign trade. The cultivation bestowed on the rugged soil of Attica enabled it to produce, in some parts, barley, and even wheat; and the mildness of the climate encouraged the growth of every plant and animal. The wines of Attica were inferior to those of other parts of Greece, especially of the islands; but the olives produced excellent oil in great abundance; and the honey of Hymettus and of Sunium was much famed. The figs were delicious and plentiful. Though horses and horned cattle were scarce in Attica, in the early ages, they were afterwards raised in abundance, for the Athenians, in the rich pastures of Eubœa. The fisheries, also, were a source of wealth. The woodlands abounded in firewood; but ships were built with foreign timber. The silver mines yielded lead, and minerals used in colouring. Pentelicus and Hymettus yielded beautiful marbles.

466. Though commerce was not held in much esteem by the great men of Greece, it was encouraged among the poorer citizens and the aliens. Athens contained great numbers of workers in iron and other metals, tanners, weavers, millers, and bakers.

467. The purity of the Attic coin attracted foreign merchants to Athens. These brought with them corn, wines, iron, and brass, from all the regions bordered by the Mediterranean; timber, tar, rigging for ships, and slaves from Macedonia, Thrace, Byzantium, and the Euxine; slaves from the interior of Thessaly; carpets and firewood from Miletus, and from Phrygia. The Athenian merchants carried out the productions of their own country, and her works of art, together with the commodities imported from other countries. They transported the wines of the Greek islands to Pontus. Books were exported to the Pontus and to Thrace.

468. The commercial intercourse between one part of Greece and another was perpetually hindered by their wars. The same hindrance, of course, occurred in their wars with other nations. The small quantity of coin in circulation, as compared with the wealthy states of modern Europe, together with the plentifulness of the regions in which they lived, or traded, made the necessaries of life cheaper in ancient than in modern times. The impossibility of trading

with lands beyond the borders of the Mediterranean, also, tended to produce this cheapness. Compared with other places, Athens is represented by Plutarch as an expensive place to live in. Its wealthiest inhabitants do not appear to have had large estates. Their private buildings, or dwelling-houses, were not of great value. The price of a slave, which regulated the ransom of captives, was, on the average, two minas, or 8*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* of our money. Slaves, however, rose in value, according to their usefulness. They were held simply as property, and could be given as pledges. The profit derived from their labour was very great.

469. The situation of Attica rendered the price of horses high. A common horse, such as was used by country people, was valued at three minas, or 12*l.*; while a riding or chariot horse was valued at four times that sum. No limits were placed to the value of horses bought according to fancy or fashion. A common yoke of mules was valued at from five to eight minas; asses were much cheaper in proportion. In the time of Solon the value of an ox was five drachmas, or 16*s.*; of a sheep, one-fifth of the cost of an ox. In the more flourishing times of Athens, a sheep cost from ten to twenty drachmas; and an ox, in the same proportion, fifty or a hundred drachmas. (A hundred drachmas is a mina, or 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*) "Concerning the value of goats, which were very plentiful in Attica, I have not been able to find any information, except that in Isseus a hundred goats, together with sixty sheep, a horse, and some implements, are valued at thirty minas. As an example of luxury, it may be worth mentioning, that Alcibiades gave seventy minas for a dog, which he shortly afterwards deprived of its chief beauty." *

470. The consumption of corn in Attica, for its five hundred thousand inhabitants, was very great. To supply a demand so much beyond the production of the country, the markets of the Piræus were replenished from the Pontus, from Eubœa, and the Thracian Chersonese, from Cyprus and Rhodes, from Sicily, Egypt, and Syria. Of the whole quantity demanded, four million five hundred bushels, professor Boekh calculates that two-thirds were grown in Attica, and one-third imported. The grain grown in Attica

* Boekh—*Public Economy of Athens.*

was not allowed to be exported. Of the corn imported, only one-third was allowed by the Athenian law to be carried away to other countries. To prevent the hoarding of corn, no man was allowed to buy at one time more than fifty loads such as a man could carry. The corn-dealers were compelled to sell the corn for a profit fixed by law, which was rigidly enforced by public officers appointed for that purpose. To insure the importation of corn, the laws forbade money to be lent on any vessel which did not bring to Athens a cargo of goods on her return, in which cargo corn was expressly specified; and no person living in Attica could import corn to any other place than the port of Athens. Public warehouses for corn were kept at the arsenals near the sea, and in the Odeum, Pompeium, the Long Portico, and other public places, from whence it was distributed, either gratuitously or at low prices, to the citizens. The price of bread appears to have been high, in proportion to the price of corn.

471. Wine was so common in Greece that ten gallons of wine, diluted with two-thirds of water, were sold for threepence. The Chian and other choice wines sold for more than twenty times the cost of common wine. The olive oil, used for dressing meat, for lamps, and the person, was dear in proportion to its abundance. Salt was procured from the sea-shore, from salt-springs in Attica, and from Nisea, in Megaris, and other places subject to the dominion of Athens. Every kind of food and of ordinary clothing was cheap; though expensive articles of living were purchased by the rich and the ostentatious. One of the dearest articles of luxury consisted of perfumed ointments from the east.

472. Though the price of labour was low, the profit of manufacturers greatly raised the price of all the commodities on which much skill was expended; such as furniture, implements of husbandry, carriages, wax tablets, ropes, arms, and armour, and articles used in the building and the equipment of ships. The poorest family of four persons living in Athens, if they did not live on bread and water, must have spent nearly four hundred drachmas, or about sixteen pounds sterling, a year. The daily pay of a common labourer in Attica was about sixpence. The passage-fare from Ægina to the Piræus, more than twenty-one miles,

was two oboli, or threepence; from Ægina to the Pontus, or to Egypt, more than six hundred miles, for a man with his baggage and family, was, in the time of Plato, not more than two drachmas, or twenty pence. The pay of an Athenian soldier varied in different times and circumstances; but he could maintain a wife with two oboli, or threepence, a day. Public physicians, architects, musicians, actors, and teachers, were highly paid. Protagoras, of Abdera, received from his pupil a hundred minas, or more than four hundred pounds.

473. The rate of interest of money at Athens appears to have been ten per cent., and the highest thirty-six. The ordinary rate, at Athens, was from twelve to eighteen per cent. The reasons assigned for this high rate of interest, as compared with our own times, are; first, that more profit could be made by employing money in commerce or manufactures; and, especially, the low state of credit occasioned by the defective morality, and the imperfection of the laws, of different states.

474. Foreigners residing at Athens lived in hired houses. The rents were lower than the interest of money, being not more than eight per cent. on the value of the houses. The lease of the whole property produced more than twelve per cent. It has been reckoned, that, omitting the public property and the mines, the wealth of the Athenians, if equally divided, would have secured to each of the twenty thousand citizens an annual income which, together with the produce of labour, would be a plentiful subsistence. But some being very poor, while others made great riches by the cheapness of living and the high rate of interest, the poorer citizens were thrown into the hands of the rich, or of popular leaders, who bought their favours by distribution of corn and money, extorted from their allies.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

Greek army—Discipline—Arrangement—Accoutrement—Ideas of war and invasion—Camps—Preparations for war—Ceremony of interment—Conquerors and conquered—Rewards—Ships—Celebration of naval victories—Number of the Athenian fleet.

475. THE armies of the Greeks were composed of free citizens. The Athenians, at the age of eighteen, were called out to guard the city, and trained to the use of arms ; at twenty, they went to distant wars. After the age of forty, no Athenian was required to serve in the army, except in times of great danger ; and at sixty they were allowed to retire. The keepers of the revenue, and the dancers at the festival of Bacchus, were exempt from military service. Every soldier was registered. In early ages, each soldier maintained himself ; but, from the time of Pericles, they were paid from the public treasury. A soldier absenting himself from service lost his rights as citizen, and was shut out from the temples : deserters, when found, were branded in the hand.

476. The main body of a Grecian army consisted of foot soldiers ; the heavy-armed, clothed in heavy armour, and carrying long spears and broad shields ; the light-armed, who fought with arrows, darts, and slings ; and men armed with spears and shields of less size than those of the first class. The horsemen were less numerous than the foot soldiers, and were variously armed, sometimes fighting on horseback, and sometimes on foot. Horses were likewise used to draw the chariots of commanders. The chariots were richly embossed with gold and other metals, and drawn by two horses driven by a charioteer, who was directed by the warrior. In later times, after the Greeks became acquainted with the oriental modes of warfare, they used elephants carrying on their backs wooden towers, each containing ten, fifteen, or thirty soldiers. The Greek soldier wore a helmet made of brass, or of the hardened skin of animals, surmounted by a crest ; and that of the officers

was adorned with waving plumes. The breast-plate, to which was fastened a defence for the back, was composed of small cords of hemp closely twisted, of the hides of beasts, of metal rings, or plates of metal; and the legs were covered with greaves of tin, copper, or brass. Their shields were of various sizes and forms, made of wicker-work, wood, or hides doubled into folds, and studded with iron or brass, slung over the shoulder by a rod or thong, or carried on the arm by rings or handles, and adorned with bosses, and figures of gods, birds, beasts, or some of the heavenly bodies.

477. Their offensive weapons were; first, their spears—shafts of ash or other strong wood, with iron heads—of which the shorter was used in close combat, and the longer in distant fighting. The Macedonians had a spear fourteen or sixteen cubits (twenty-four feet) long. Secondly, the sword, hung in a belt round the shoulders; and beside it a shorter sword, and likewise a dagger or long knife. The bows were anciently of horn, but afterwards of wood; the strings of horse-hair, or thongs of leather. The arrows were of light wood, with barbed iron heads, and winged with feathers. The darts, or javelins, were of various kinds. The slings, made of the fleece of sheep, were carried round the neck, about the loins, and in the hands. The slinger, whirling the sling round his head, cast from it arrows, stones, or heavy pieces of lead, with a force that could crush the strongest armour.

478. The Athenian generals were chosen in an assembly of the people, one from each tribe. The inferior officers received their titles from the number of men under their command, and these divisions and subdivisions were very minute. The phalanx, or arrangement of soldiers in battle, took different forms according to circumstances.

479. The Greeks regarded invasions without previous notice as robberies. Regular war was declared by heralds. The herald was a person of high family, and his character was sacred. He carried in his hand either a staff around which were entwined two serpents with raised crests, or a branch of olive covered with wool and the fruits of the earth. When a treaty of peace was formed, symbols or pledges were exchanged, and the terms of the compact were engraven on tablets or columns fixed in public places. In

declaring war, the herald cast a spear, or let loose a lamb, into the territory of the enemy. This ceremony was always preceded by omens, sacrifices, and consultation of the gods by oracles or soothsayers.

480. Their camps were of a circular form, and inclosed altars to the gods. They were fortified by trenches, walls, and towers. The guards were on duty day and night. At particular hours, officers appointed for that purpose walked round the camp. Before a battle they partook of food, and offered prayers and hymns, and the general addressed the troops. He gave a watchword to the officers, which passed along the ranks. The signal for advance or retreat was by ensigns, torches, or trumpets. The onset was made with a loud shout.

481. The Greeks were slow in acquiring the art of besieging. In course of time, they began to use scaling-ladders, battering-rams, tortoises, or coverings; to raise mounds opposite walls; to construct movable towers, and various machines for casting stones and darts. Demetrius, son of Antigonus, invented the *elepolis*; a vast engine, containing numerous contrivances, and worked by ropes and wheels.

482. The burial of those who fell in battle was one of the signs of victory; and the conqueror demanded large sums for the ransom of the bodies of the enemy. The ashes were collected into urns, or the bones were brought home in coffins of cypress. Orations were pronounced at the burial, and the tombs were inscribed with the names and deeds of the departed. Prisoners taken in war were ransomed, or reduced to slavery. The best of the spoils were dedicated to the gods. On returning home, the victors, crowned with garlands, made a procession through their city, brandishing their spears, exhibiting their captives and spoils, and singing hymns. Trophies were arms taken from the enemy, hung on columns of stone or brass, and dedicated to some deity. Sometimes the trophy consisted of a tower, an altar, or a temple, erected on the field of victory, or on the frontier of a conquered country.

483. Soldiers were punished for desertion with death. If a man refused to serve in the war, or left the ranks, he was condemned to sit for three days in the Forum, dressed

as a woman ; was not allowed to wear a garland ; was stigmatized as a coward ; was fined, and imprisoned till he paid the fine. If a man lost his shield, he was punished as a coward. The coward was treated by the Spartans with every kind of dishonour. He was forced to wear a tattered dress, with his beard half shaved. It was not uncommon for the Spartan mother to stab her coward son to death with her own hand. The rewards of the brave were promotion in rank, gifts, crowns, pillars, and statues, presents of armour in the name of the state, and praises by poets and orators. A Greek who lost a limb in battle, if poor, was kept at the cost of the public ; and the children of those who fell fighting for their country were educated by the state ; and, as they came of age, were presented with suits of armour, and publicly exhorted by the magistrates to emulate the valour of their fathers. The parents of sons who fell in the service of their country were maintained by the state.

484. The ships of the Greeks were transports, for conveying soldiers and horses, merchant-vessels of a roundish form, and war-galleys, longer in form than merchantmen, with several tiers, or banks of rowers, and engines of defence or attack, and victualling ships, or packet vessels. The prows of the war-galleys were ornamented with the forms of shields and helmets, birds, or animals, and with pictures of gods, heroes, beasts, and plants. The stern was round, and higher than the prow, and was adorned with wings. The standard was placed in the prow, and the vane at the stern. The ship's name was inscribed on a round piece of wood near the prow, called the ship's eye. The ships were black with pitch. Each ship was dedicated to some deity, whose image was approached by prayers, oaths, and sacrifices. They appear to have had several masts. The sails were usually of linen. On the prow was a wooden beak, covered with brass, and on the mast-head a helmet. The rowers were an order of men distinct from the mariners ; the fighting men were likewise distinct from both rowers and mariners, and were heavy armed, with very long spears. In war, they used weapons for cutting the cordage of the enemy, engines for casting stones, and grappling irons. They steered by the stars, particularly the Lesser and the Greater

Bear. The officers were divided according to the several duties of each class of men.

485. Before embarking, the ships were adorned with garlands; prayers and sacrifices were offered, a dove was sent up as an omen, the signal was given by sound of a trumpet in the day, and by torches in the night, and the fleet started three or more ships abreast in calm weather, but singly in a high wind. When they landed in safety, they paid their vows, by offering sacrifice; if they were preserved in a storm, they consecrated their garments, with a tablet recording their deliverance, to Jupiter, or one of the sea-gods; and, in escaping after shipwreck, they cut off their hair, and consecrated it to the gods. When engaged in warfare, they threw overboard their provisions, and everything not needed in the battle; took down their sails, lowered the masts, forming the line of battle, which was either in a crescent, a circle, or in the form of the two sides of a triangle. A gilded shield, or a red banner, in the admiral's ship, was the signal of battle, and was followed by the sound of trumpets, and hymns to Mars through the whole fleet. Naval victories were celebrated by towing home the captured vessels, or the ornamental fragments of those which were destroyed, amid joyful hymns, accompanied by musical instruments. The spoils were taken to the temples; and statues, trophies, with inscriptions, arms, and fragments of wrecks, were raised in honour of the victors. The Athenian fleet was twice as large as that of all the rest of Greece, and at one time consisted of four hundred ships.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

Herodotus—Thucydides—Theopompus—Xenophon—Polybius—Dionysius—Plutarch—Appian—Herodian—Praxagoras—Zosimus—Procopius—Symocatta—Syncellus—Theophanes—Seylitza—John of Antioch—Nicephorus—Anna Comnena—John Comnenus—Zonaras—Manuel—Comnenus—Niceas—Ducas—Phranga—Benefits of printing in Greece—Jesuits—Emulation of the Greek youth—Epistles of Milton.

486. OUR knowledge of the History of Greece is drawn from their own writers. HERODOTUS, whom Cicero calls the "father of history," was born 484 years before Christ, or four years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. He was of a Dorian family, and a native of Halicarnassus, in Caria, a province of Asia Minor. Driven from his native city by the tyranny of the governor, he travelled through Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Scythia, Asia, and Egypt, and then retired to the isle of Samos, where he arranged the information he had gathered in his travels, and formed the plan of his history. In his thirty-ninth year, after helping to restore the freedom of his native city, he publicly recited a portion of his history at the Olympic Games, with so much applause, that the names of the Muses were given to the nine books into which it was divided. The earlier books relate the histories of Lydia, Persia, and Egypt. The fifth book—Terpsichore—traces the rise of Lacedæmon, Corinth, and Athens, to the expulsion of Hippias from Athens. The sixth book ends with the battle of Marathon; the seventh with the battle of Thermopylæ; the eighth with the battle of Salamis; the ninth with the battles of Plataea and Mycale, and the final retreat of the Persians. Twelve years after his appearance at Olympia, Herodotus read the continuation of his history to the Athenians at the Panathenæa, and received a gift of ten talents, or two thousand pounds. From Athens he repaired to Thusium, a Greek colony in the south of Italy. The place of his death is a matter of dispute.

487. THUCYDIDES, an experienced commander, was born thirteen years after Herodotus, in Attica. He was of the family of Miltiades. He was a pupil of Anaxagoras, the

same who taught Socrates, Euripides, and Pericles. At the age of fifteen, he was taken by his father to the Olympic Games. When he first heard Herodotus he burst into tears, like Themistocles, when he saw the trophy of Miltiades, Herodotus, observing the youth's ardour and sensibility, complimented his father on having such a son. According to the Athenian custom, Thucydides took arms, and learned the military discipline, at eighteen.

488. On the breaking out of the war between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, respecting Epidamnus, Thucydides beheld the preparations making for the Peloponnesian war, and, as he was fired with the success of Herodotus, he resolved on becoming its historian. With this view, we may suppose with what care he would observe the events passing under his eye, and treasure up the information he could gather respecting facts he did not witness. He heard the orations of Pericles; saw Attica wasted by the Spartans; and felt the Plague, which he describes.—At the age of forty-seven, he was one of the commanders of the Athenian squadron on the coast of Thrace; where, as he was the possessor of gold mines, from which he drew a large income, he had great influence with the principal inhabitants. He sailed from the isle of Samos, to prevent Amphipolis from falling into the hands of Brasidas; but, arriving too late for that purpose, he secured Eion by twice repelling Brasidas, and compelling him to give up the hope of taking it. At that time, the people of Athens were guided by Cleon, who induced them to punish Thucydides for the loss of Amphipolis, by depriving him of his command, and banishing him for twenty years. His banishment gave him leisure to watch the further proceedings of the war, and to draw up his history. Soon after the destruction of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus, he was restored to Athens. In his old age, he retired to Scaptesyle, in Thrace, where he died. His monument at Athens was a cenotaph.

489. The history of the Peloponnesian war was continued by Theopompus, and by XENOPHON. From Xenophon, whose retreat from Babylon has been described from his own account, we have likewise a history of the elder Cyrus, an account of Socrates, and two discourses on the constitutions of Lacedæmon and Athens. He was an Athenian, a friend and disciple of Socrates.

490. **POLYBIUS**, of Megalopolis, who returned to Greece, as we have seen, at the time of the Roman conquest, wrote his history of the Romans and the Greeks, extending from the second Punic war to his own times. Only the first five books of this history remain, with an abridgment of the following twelve. After the loss of Grecian independence, her sons still cultivated, in their elegant language, the art of writing history. **DIONORUS**, a native of Agrigentum, in Sicily, who lived in the time of Augustus, travelled over the greater part of Europe and Asia to collect information; and he lived some time at Rome, consulting the Latin historians. He spent thirty years in writing his *Historical Library*,—a general history of the world.

491. In the same age, **DIONYSIUS**, a rhetorician of Halicarnassus, produced an elaborate work on Roman Antiquities. **PLUTARCH**, of Chæronea, in Bœotia, lived in the reign of Nero. His "*Lives*" are well known, and of great value, as painting the private manners of the most illustrious Greeks and Romans.

492. **ARRIAN**, of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, rose to reputation as a Greek writer, in the reign of Hadrian. He is known chiefly as the writer of the history of Alexander's Campaigns in Asia, which he based on the histories written by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who had been the associates of Alexander in his wars.—It is from the writers above-mentioned that we have gathered the information contained in the foregoing history, down to the time of Pausanias.

493. **APPIAN**, a contemporary of Pausanias, composed, in Greek, a history of Rome; and **DIO CASSIUS**, in the second century, likewise wrote a Roman history in Greek. In the third century, **HERODIAN**, the last Greek historian before the division of the empire, wrote a history of the Roman emperors from Marcus Aurelius to the younger Gorgian, in A.D. 238. In the following century, **PRAXAGORAS** wrote in Greek the *Life of "Constantine the Great,"* and **EUSEBIUS** his "*Ecclesiastical History.*" In the fifth century, **ZOSIMUS** published a "*History of the Empire,*" from Augustus to Theodosius the Younger, designed to exhibit the Fall of that empire, as Polybius had established its Rise. In the sixth century, **PROCORPUS**, a native of Cetaarda in Palatine, wrote a *History of his own Times*, relating to Justinian, Theodora, and Belisarius. His history was

continued by AGATHEUS, whose work abounds with interesting illustrations of the early manners of the Goths, Franks, and Persians.

494. In the seventh century, SYMOCATTA published an account of the empire from the death of Tiberius the Second to the murder of Maurice and his children by Phocas. The darkness of the ninth century was feebly illumined by the *Chronicles* of SYNCCELLUS, which, in the next age, was continued by THEOPHANES, the Isaurian; still further continued, in the following century, by SCYLITZA, who drew up an historical epitome of the affairs of the empire from the reign of Michael the first to the accession of the Comneni, in 1057. In the same age, appeared two similar works, one by JOHN of Antioch, and the other by NICEPHORUS, the patriarch of Constantinople. ANNA, the daughter of Alexius Comnenus, who was married to Nicephorus Briennius, retired, after the death of Nicephorus, to a convent, where she wrote a continuation of a history of the house of Comnenus, which her husband had begun, by composing her father's life. In the reign of Anna's brother, John Comnenus, ZONARAS, an officer of the imperial guard, sought relief from domestic sorrow in the loneliness of a monastery, by writing annals, beginning with the earliest ages, and coming down to his own time. Manuel, the youngest son of John, succeeded him on his throne; and in his reign, CINNAMUS composed the lives of both these princes in a volume which is highly prized.

495. The taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century is most accurately and fully recorded by NICETAS, an eye-witness of the calamity, who wrote his *History of the Byzantine Empire at Nice*. The court of Andronicus the second, in the fourteenth century, was graced by NICEPHORUS, who continued the Byzantine History. The final overthrow of the Greeks by the Turks is related by DUCAS, CHALCONDYLAS, and PHRANZA. Ducas, a descendant of the imperial family, wrote his history in the isle of Lesbos. Phranza was sold into slavery by the Turks; but, obtaining his freedom, he found shelter in the court of Thomas, in the Morea; and, on the defeat of that prince by Mohammed the second, he withdrew to a monastery in the island of Corfu, where, under the assumed name of Gregorius, he compiled the annals of the Palæologi, from

their restoration in 1261 to their final dispersion in 1453. Such were the Greek annalists of the middle ages, composing the series styled *THE BYZANTINE HISTORIANS*. It may help to show the fallen state of Greece, if we observe that these writers were not Greeks, in the ancient sense of that name, but natives of Alexandria, Constantinople, or some province of the Eastern Empire, whose language was Greek.

496. The failure of original historical writers among this people, after they lost their national independence, may be easily understood. It must not, however, be inferred from this that literature was neglected by them : they turned from their present degradation to the glorious past, studied the works of their ancient language, and diffused a taste for the history of their fathers among the nations of the west.

497. The invention of printing extended its benefits to Greece. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits founded schools at Athens, Negropont, Patras, Napoli di Romania, at Smyrna, and other towns on the coast of Asia Minor, and in the isles of Milo, Paros, Naxos, Santorin, and Scio ; and the stream of knowledge flowed, through the channels of commerce, from the most enlightened part of Europe. The most learned universities were resorted to by the Greek youths of family and wealth, of whom some returned to instruct their countrymen, and others laboured for the same object by printing books and raising the means of supporting schools. In the *Familiar Epistles* of Milton, there are letters addressed to Philarus of Athens, in one of which he thus expresses his passionate desire for the restoration of Greece to her ancient glory : " In former times, what appeared to the bravest, or the most eloquent men, more glorious or more worthy than either by persuasive words or by noble deeds, to make the Greeks free, and governed by their own laws ; but, in my judgment, something more and greater must be attempted ; and this will be the work of him who, by reviving their ancient studies, shall kindle in the minds of the Greeks the ancient virtue, industry, and endurance of labour."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE POETRY OF THE GREEKS.

Connexion of poetry with the Greek nation—Bards—Archilocus—His history and character—Terpander, poet and musician—Dios, father of Hesiod—His Theogony, and Works and Days—Homer—Design of the Iliad—Of the Odyssey—Other Greek poems—Sappho—Bion—Musæus—Argonautis—Apollonius Rhodius—Coluthus Lycophotus—Pindar—Life—Pigrius—Æschylus—His works—Sophocles—Euripides—Aristophanes—Poetry in the time of Alexander the Great—Decline of the Iliada—Efforts—Revival of Greek literature—The Romances—Wars of the Franks—Improvements of the eighteenth century—Works of Rhuga

498. OF no nation can it be said that they did so much for poetry, and poetry so much for them, as the Greeks. We trace their poets to a very remote age. The earliest, of whom we know little more than their names, were bards, who travelled through many countries gathering tales, which they sang accompanied with the lyre. Such were Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, Amphion, Chiron, and Anthes.

499. OF ARCHILOCUS, mention is made by Herodotus as flourishing at Paros in the reign of Gyges, king of Lydia, about seven hundred years before Christ. In a battle with the Thasians, he threw down his shield, and saved his life by running away. He made himself to be regarded as a public enemy by his satirical poems, and was banished from Paros to Thasos, where he became equally unpopular. He wandered from place to place. From Sparta he was rejected for his cowardice; but, by changing his style of poetry, he obtained permission to sing at the Olympic festival a hymn to Hercules, with which the judges were so delighted that he received the crown. With his new honours he was restored to so much influence and respect in his native island, that at his death he received a pompous funeral, and his memory was celebrated by an annual festival.

500. Terpander, of Lesbos, gained the crown for music, which included poetry, in the Carnean festival at Sparta, and in four successive contests in the Pythian Games. These lyric poets were imitated by a line of followers, extending through two centuries, on the coast of Asia Minor,

or in the delicious islands of the Ægean. The charms of these poems were aided by the strains of music, the graceful movements of the performers, and the rich accompaniments of natural scenery, adorned with all the splendours of statuary and architecture; and their importance in forming the sentiments and character of the people can scarcely be appreciated by us.

501. Dios, the father of HESIOD, is represented by the poet as a native of one of the Ætolian isles, from whence he removed to a village in Bœotia, near the foot of Mount Helicon, where Hesiod was born. On the mount, as Hesiod tended his flocks, the ideas and feelings of poetry, which he elegantly describes as the appearance of the Muses to him, arose within his mind. He was deprived of a portion of his inheritance by the frauds and injustice of his brother. He won the prize for poetry, at the funeral game celebrated in memory of Amphidamus, king of Eubœa. In his latter years, he removed to Locris, near Mount Parnassus; where he was murdered, and his body was cast into the sea. The body being washed upon the shore, was taken up by the Locrians; who drowned the murderers. His remains were buried at Nemea; from whence they were removed, under the guidance of an oracle, to Orchomenus, in Bœotia, where his image was placed on his tomb, with a harp in his hand. He appears to have flourished before the time of Homer, probably a thousand years before Christ. Many of his poems are lost; those which remain are his "Theogony," and his "Works and Days." The Theogony is a poem of great richness and beauty, in which, with much embellishment, the writer embodies those ancient traditions of the Greeks respecting the origin and the history of their gods, some knowledge of which is indispensable to the understanding and enjoyment of the Grecian writings. The "Works and Days" contains the story of Prometheus, Epimethes, and Pandora; and describes the golden, silver, brazen, heroic, and iron ages. The seasons are happily painted; virtue and religion are commended, and directions are given for the arts of agriculture and navigation.

502. HOMER has been mentioned in an early part of this work, in connexion with the history of the Greek nation; and the value of his poems in this respect is one of the

reasons why they have been in all ages so highly esteemed. The *ILIAD*, as is well known, takes its name from Ilium, or Troy. The theme of the poet is the revenge of Menelaus on the Trojans, because Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy, had carried off his wife, the beautiful Helen. The Greeks were summoned to assist Menelaus to recover her. When landed on the shores of Troy, Achilles and Agamemnon had female captives assigned to them, as their prize, after a victory which they had gained over the Trojans. The priest of Apollo, the father of the female captive allotted to Agamemnon, by his interest with Apollo, who sent a plague on the Greeks, recovered his daughter; which so vexed Agamemnon, the king of Argos, and leader of the Greek invasion, that he took the female captive Briseis from the camp of Achilles; and this led to the many mischiefs that befel the Greeks in consequence of the withdrawalment of Achilles. When the Greeks were driven by the Trojans to their ships, Patroclus, the friend of Achilles, enters the battle in the armour of the sullen hero, forces back the Trojans to the city, and conquers Sarpedon; but is himself slain by Hector, the Trojan prince. Achilles, reconciled to Agamemnon, deals slaughter among the Trojans, and drives them to their city. Hector resolves to meet him at the gate; is slain by Achilles, and dragged behind his chariot, in the presence of his father, mother, wife, and the Trojans; and afterwards round the tomb of Patroclus, who is buried with the heroic honours of funeral games. The body of Hector is redeemed from Achilles by Priam, and the poem ends with his funeral rites. Simple as the theme of the *Iliad* is, and short the time it occupies—not more than forty days—the majestic invention of the poet has filled it with glowing pictures of scenery, battles, councils, speeches of men and of gods, adorned with the sublimest imagery, drawn from every province of nature and every work of art, and breathing the noblest sentiments in living words, woven together in the harmony of music.

503. The *ODYSSEY* celebrates the return of Ulysses, king of the isle of Ithaca, after the Trojan war. The poet describes the proceedings at Ithaca in the absence of Ulysses; who is long detained in the isle of Calypso, and at length is restored to his home. The time occupied by the *Odyssey*

is eight years. A Greek poem, entitled, "The Battle of the Frogs and Mice," has been ascribed to Homer, and printed with his works; but it evidently belongs to a later age. Some Hymns to Ceres, Mercury, Venns, Bacchus, Mars, Diana, the Mother of the gods, Hercules, Pan, Vulcan, Neptune, Vesta, the Muses, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, with many other smaller poems, are usually printed in the collection of Homer's works; but there are various opinions respecting their authorship.

504. **THEOCRITUS**, the earliest writer of Idylls, or Pastoral Poetry, was a Sicilian, of Syracuse, in the time of Hiero, about two hundred and seventy years before Christ. He spent much of his time at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at Alexandria. His pastorals have been imitated by Virgil, and by nearly all writers of this kind of poetry; and they have been admired by the finest judges for their sweet tenderness, their rustic wildness, and their lively pictures of human feelings in the midst of rural life.

505. **ANACREON** was born at Teos, an island on the Ionian coast; from whence he wandered to Abdera, in Thrace, and thence to the isle of Samos. From Samos he was invited by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, to Athens. After the assassination of Hipparchus, he returned to Teos, and was compelled by political disturbances to retire once more to Abdera; where he is said to have been choked by a grape-stone, in his eighty-fifth year.—His Odes, which have always been the delight of cultivated minds, are remarkable for their delicate softness and beautiful simplicity. His love of pleasure is sometimes expressed in language which the wiser morality of our religion would condemn.

506. **SAPPHO** was a native of Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, married to Cercolas, a man of great wealth in the neighbouring isle of Andros, who left her, when still very young, a widow, with one daughter. To cure herself of a hopeless passion for a Lesbian youth, she leaped from the promontory of Leucate in Acarnania, and perished in the sea. Only fragments of her poetry remain.

507. **BRON**, a native of Smyrna, but an inhabitant of Sicily, about the time of Theocritus, was the author of some elegant pastorals; in which he was followed by Moschus of Syracuse. The loves of Hero and Leander are celebrated

in the favourite little poem bearing that title; ascribed to **MUSEÆUS**, in the fifth century.

508. The *Argonautics* is a poem, about one-third the length of Homer's *Odyssey*, written by **APOLLONIUS RHODIUS**, a native of Alexandria, and a pupil of Callimachus, of whom some hymns and epigrams remain. Apollonius founded a school of rhetoric at Rhodes, where he wrote his *Argonautics*, under the patronage of the Ptolemies. The subject of the poem is the expedition in the ship *Argo*, from Greece to Colchis, on the Euxine, for the Golden Fleece. The characters of these adventurers, the places from which they gathered, their dangers, their quarrels, the countries they visited, the success of their expedition, and their return home with the Golden Fleece, are described, and adorned with the graceful fictions which make these ancient writers so attractive. Apollonius has been imitated by Virgil, by Camoens, the Portuguese poet of the *Lusiad*, and by our own Milton.

509. **COLUTHUS LYCOPHOLITES**, a poet of Thebes, in the sixth century, has woven the story of Paris of Troy, and Helen of Greece, into an elegant poem, rich in the mythology and images of the elder poets.

510. **PINDAR**, the most famous of the Greek lyric poets, was born about forty years before the battle of Salamis, either at Thebes, or at Cynocephalæ, a Boeotian town under the government of Thebes. It is related that a swarm of bees settled on his lips when he was a youth, as a presage of his poetical eminence. He benefited by the instructions of Corinna, and of his countrywoman Myrtes, and of Simonides of Ceos. His family was long honoured at Thebes, and was spared, for the sake of his memory, at one time by the Lacedæmonians, at another by Alexander, when he reduced the other citizens to slavery. His hymns, in honour of Apollo, were chaunted by the poet in the temples of Greece; one-half of the firstfruits offered at Delphi were awarded to him by the oracle; and in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, his iron chair was long preserved as a venerated relic. He died in a tranquil old age, whilst watching the exercises of the youth in the Gymnasium. With the exception of a few fragments, all that remain of his numerous compositions, are the Odes, written to be sung by musical choruses in honour of the victors at the four great

national festivals. These Odes are full of bold conceptions and striking images, but are felt to be occasionally obscure in their language, and abrupt in their transitions.

511. Several collections of Epigrams, or short and witty sentences from the Greeks, have been made, with the title of ANTHOLOGY, or collection of flowers; they are valuable, as exhibiting the taste, and illustrating the manners, of the Greeks.

512. **ÆSCHYLUS**, a native of Eleusis, who fought at Marathon, at Plataea, and at Salamis, was the father of Tragic poetry, in which a series of heroic actions was represented in poetic dialogue, and accompanied by a chorus. Of the many tragedies of Æschylus, only seven have been preserved. He nourished his poetic fire by the constant study of Homer. During the struggle of parties between Pericles and Cimon, he adhered to the latter. In his old age, he left Athens for the court of Hiero, at Syracuse. His dramas are distinguished by their heroic grandeur.

513. Those of **SOPHOCLES**, a native of Colonus, near Athens, his junior and his rival, were preferred by the Athenians of the age of Pericles, for their display of human feeling in language which charmed them by its simplicity and chasteness. In his first exhibition at Athens, Sophocles gained the prize in a contest with Æschylus; and, for another drama, he was rewarded with the rank of general in the army led by Pericles to the war in Samos.

514. Before his death, Sophocles witnessed the rising fame of **EURIPIDES**, supported by the patronage of Alcibiades, extending to Sicily, and securing for the poet a home at the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon. Euripides was a disciple of Anaxagoras, and a friend of Socrates. His power as a poet lay in his appeals to the tender sentiments, and in his leaning to the new philosophy coming at that time into note at Athens.

515. The comedies of **ARISTOPHANES**, the contemporary of Euripides and of Socrates, were written with the professed view of correcting the manners of the Athenians by contrasting them with those of former times, and ridiculing their personal and political faults, whilst his affection for Athens is always earnestly expressed. In the judgment of Plato, he had no equal in the elegance of his taste, and the gracefulness of his language. To the Christian reader,

his bitterness and grossness of feeling exhibit a revolting picture of Athenian morals, and of the poet's character. It is certain that the licentious characters, the insolent reviling, and the low buffoonery which amused the Athenians, did more than anything else to debase their morals, and to stimulate the vices which brought on their ruin. In the age of Alexander the Great, the Tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides continued to be popular in Greece. The lyric poets scarcely rose above contempt. But Philemon, Autiphanes, Lycon, and Menander of Athens, are described by Plutarch as raising comic poetry to the highest degree of perfection.

516. The diffusion of the Greek language throughout the Roman empire preserved their unrivalled poetry, and secured hosts of imitators, both in their own language and in Latin. Among the Greeks themselves, poetry lost its dignity and grace, and degenerated into frivolous panegyrics, or barren attempts to versify geography or chronology. The early ages of the Christian church in Greece and the adjacent regions were too much disturbed by controversy to admit of much poetry, beyond the Hymns that were composed for public worship. Occasionally, a feeble versifier appeared in the long time between Constantine and the establishment of the Turkish dominion. The revival of learning during the reigns of Leo, and his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the ninth century, produced some glimmer of poetry in an age of learned industry, rather than of original genius. The Greeks "held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity, or to promote the happiness of mankind. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry: their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses were silent and inglorious: the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or an epigram, a panegyric or a tale: they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all

the measures of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of political or city verses."*

517. The decline of the ancient Drama was followed by amusements of the lowest description. The early Christian fathers denounced them with glowing indignation, as haunts of wickedness, and hotbeds of corruption. They were condemned in councils of the church. To counteract the evil, religious mysteries were invented, and encouraged by the Greek clergy, who represented on a stage the narratives of Scripture, and the lives of saints.

518. The revival of Greek Literature in Italy, in the sixteenth century, renewed the taste for the older classical writers, and produced occasional imitators.

519. From the time of Alexander's conquests in the east there arose a new poetry in Greece,—the ROMANCES—abounding in startling and incredible fictions, which grew at length into the tales since so familiar in Europe in connexion with the adventures of chivalry.

520. Before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the wars of the Franks in the Morea were sung in Greek by an anonymous eye-witness; but the rhymes were rude, the dialect corrupt, the ideas coarse, and sense gave way to mere sound. The bloody conflicts of the Sultan with the Venetians, overran Greece with plunderers; and it remained for a later age of subdued tranquillity to bring out the Muses from their retirement in the isle of Candia, and along the Italian coast.

521. The improved education introduced by commerce into Greece towards the close of the eighteenth century, had a favourable influence on the poetry of that country. Rhiga has been mentioned in connexion with his efforts for the independence of Greece. Familiarly acquainted with the Greek and Roman classics, and with the best writers of Germany and Italy, he wrote with equal ease in French and in Greek, and was a musician as well as a poet. His lyric poems have been collected. The most popular of them,—an imitation of the Marseillaise Hymn,—was translated by Lord Byron.

* Gibbon, chapter 53.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FINE ARTS IN GREECE.

Buildings — Statues — Phœnicians and Egyptians — Dædalus — His works in sculpture — Ictinus — Callicrates — Mnesicles — His Propylæa — Architecture — Different orders — Exhibited in the principal temples of Greece — Church architecture — Sculpture — Bathycles — Phidias — Life and fortunes — Description of his statue of Olympian Jupiter — His Minerva Promachus — Variety of his works — Elgin marbles — Phigalian marbles — Remains of Grecian sculpture — Niobe — The Laocœon — Venus di Medici — Characteristic of Grecian sculpture — Polycletus — Venus di Medici — State of the arts during the calamities of Athens — Periods of the history of sculpture — Number of statues — Mummius — Painting — Polygnotus, the founder of the Athenian school — His contemporaries — Their productions — Various departments of genius in painting — Apelles — His Venus (Anadyomené) — Cause of the decline in the art of painting — Perversion of the Roman taste — The monologue of Basil ix. — A particular branch of Grecian painting, in the sixth century — Uses of painting at that time — Opinion respecting our Saviour's appearance — Practice of the modern Greeks — Music — What it included — Principal instruments — Measures — The theatre — Procession in honour of Bacchus — Attic chorus — Description of the Athenian theatre — Manner of the performance — Scruples of Christians — Attractions of the theatre.

522. *THE* buildings and the statues of the ancient Greeks are so often referred to in their history, have been so long and universally celebrated, and are so intimately connected with their religion as well as with their intellectual superiority and their national character, that we must endeavour to give such a sketch of them as suits the limits of this volume. Other nations, before the Greeks—the Phœnicians and the Egyptians—had cultivated these arts with great success; but the natural beauty of Grecian scenery, the elegance of taste fostered by their religion, poetry, and mode of life, and the spirit of competition kindled by all their institutions, raised the Greeks above all other people in the sublimity and refinement of their productions.

523. The earliest traditions bring down the name of Dædalus, a descendant of Erichonius, king of Athens, as famous in architecture, statuary, and the mechanical arts. To him was ascribed the Labyrinth of Minos, in Crete, in which he is said to have been shut up by the tyrant, together with his son Scarus. Remains of his works in statuary are mentioned by Pausanias, in his travels through various parts of Greece.

524. One of the architects employed by Pericles in the Parthenon was Ictinus, who had previously established his

reputation by the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, in which the mysteries were celebrated. The same architect built the beautiful temple of Apollo, at Phigalia, in Arcadia. The second architect of the Parthenon was Callicrates, of whose other works no more is known than that he undertook the building of one of the walls connecting Athens with its harbours. The Propylæa, or entrance to the Acropolis, was the work of Mnesicles, who was engaged five years in the erection. To convey a just idea of the extent, proportions, and adornments of the Grecian temples would be quite impossible in such a work as this.* The Greeks, in time of peace, confined the exercise of the higher arts to free citizens. The most eminent men aspired to the wealth and honour secured by eminence in those works which received the patronage of the munificent, and the approbation of their fellow-citizens, distinguished by the polish and cultivation of their taste; which ranked their authors among the poets, warriors, and sages, as the ornaments and benefactors of their country.

525. ARCHITECTURE was one of the earliest arts that attained to perfection. The strength of Egyptian architecture was relieved from its clumsiness by the stately beauty of the Doric order, in which sublimity and grandeur were expressed by proportions adjusted on the strictest principles of science. Among the Greek colonists of Ionia a lighter and more graceful order, the Ionic, was introduced, in which the columns rested on pedestals, were taller in proportion to their thickness, and were surmounted by a capital distinguished by its volute, or scroll. In the progress of wealth and refinement arose the Corinthian, differing from both the Doric and the Ionic in the acanthus leaf which enriched the capital:

"In architecture, too, thy rank supreme—
That art where most magnificent appears
The little builder, man: by thee refined,
And smiling high, to full perfection brought.
Such thy sure rules, that Goths of every age,
Who scorn'd their aid, have only loaded earth
With labour'd heavy monuments of shame:
Not those gay domes that o'er thy splendid shore
Shot, all proportion, up. First, unadorn'd,

* The reader who wishes to pursue this subject will be at once instructed and delighted with Dr. Wordsworth's *Greece*, which is illustrated with numerous copper-plates, and a great profusion of admirable wood engravings.

And nobly plain, the manly Doric rose ;
 Th' Ionic then, with decent matron grace
 Her airy pillar heaved ; luxuriant last,
 The rich Corinthian spread her wanton wreath.
 The whole so measured true, so leaven'd off
 By fine proportion, that the marble pile,
 Form'd to repel the still or stormy waste
 Of rolling ages, light as fabrics look'd
 That from the magic wand aerial rise."

Thomson's Liberty, Part 11.

526. Specimens of these structures adorned all the cities of Greece, and of the islands : they displayed the splendid genius of the nation in the solitude of mountains, and formed on the rocky promontory the landmarks of their seamen. The most celebrated temples of Greece were regarded as models of the three orders of architecture. The temples, of Jupiter at Olympia, of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis, of Minerva and of Theseus at Athens, and of Jupiter in Ægina, were Doric. The temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Apollo at Miletus, were Ionic. The temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens, begun by Pisistratus, enlarged by Pericles, and completed by Antiochus Epiphanes, was Corinthian. It was in the Grecian architecture that the Romans found the purest models of that art, which they corrupted by the blending of the orders and the profusion of cumbrous ornaments. The same corruption appeared in the church architecture of the east, after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. But the western nations, as they arose from barbarism, employed the artists of Constantinople to plant their fading architecture on the Adriatic shores, while the churches of the Greeks became but humble imitations of the mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

527. The STATUARY of the Greeks has been described by learned writers as having been brought to perfection before the sister arts of Architecture and Painting. It is easy to conceive how greatly this beautiful art must have been encouraged and stimulated by the imaginary character of the Greek divinities, as well as by the patriotism of the people. Its earliest success was among the colonists in Asia Minor—so favourably situated as to soil, climate, harbours, and nearness to the most refined nations of the world. The presents of Lydian kings to the oracle of Apollo were the work of Ionian artists, who spread their fame through Greece, and found shelter from the storms of

war, in the wealthy cities of Sicyon, Ægina, and Corinth. At the time when Sparta was the principal city of Greece, her magistrates employed BATHYCLES, an Ionian, to produce the richly sculptured altar which supported the statue of Apollo, in the temple at Amyclæ. Not long after, the artists of Crete, Chios, and Samos, enriched with their precious statuary, in Parian marble, the Grecian cities both of Asia and of Europe. Besides the white marbles of the isles of Paros, Cyprus, and Ægina, these sculptors wrought in ebony, cypress-wood, ivory, and gold.

528. The great master, by the confession even of rivals, was Phidias—the friend of Pericles, and a native of the city which his works embellished. This great sculptor was born between 480 and 490 years before Christ. He is said to have been a pupil of Ageladus, of Argos. During the administration of Cimon, he appears to have been employed in great public works; of which the most celebrated was the statue of the Olympian Jupiter, the most splendid ornament of Greece. It represented Jupiter, sixty feet high, seated on a throne of ivory and ebony, inlaid with precious stones, and touching the roof of the temple with his head. The image was of ivory and gold, with an enamelled crown of olive on the head, an image of Victory in the right hand, and a burnished sceptre in the left; the flowing robes and the sandals on the feet were embroidered with flowers and the figures of various animals; the supporters of the throne, and the intervening pillars, were adorned with figures and paintings, representing the most beautiful stories in the Grecian traditions.

529. Next in celebrity to the Olympian Jupiter was the statue of Minerva, in the Parthenon, twenty-six cubits (39 feet) high. The naked parts of the figure were of ivory; the drapery of gold; the eyes of precious stones. It is thus described by Pausanias:—"The image itself is of ivory and gold. On the middle of her crest is the figure of a sphinx. It is erect, and covered with a garment down to the feet. There is a head of Medusa, wrought in ivory, on her breast, and a Victory, four cubits high. In her hand she holds a spear; at her feet lies a shield; and at the bottom of the spear is a dragon, which may be Erechthonius; on the base is carved the nativity of Pandora." His Minerva Promachus was of bronze, seventy feet high, armed with a long spear, an oval shield, and a

helmet; the point of the spear, and the crest of the helmet, higher than the loftiest building of the Acropolis, were seen from the sea between Athens and Sunium. Many other statues of Minerva, as well as of Venus, Apollo, and Mercury, are praised by Pausanias and by Pliny as examples of the sublimity of his works. Some of his works were in wood, some in marble, some in bronze; but the favourite materials were ivory and gold. He also enriched the exterior of the Parthenon with his sculptures.

530. Fragments of these marbles, from the Parthenon, were brought away, with the permission of the Turkish government, between the years 1801 and 1802, by lord Elgin, British ambassador to Constantinople. The collection was purchased by the English government in 1816; and a room was built for them in the British Museum. They are accompanied by a great number of casts, Greek inscriptions and other antiquities, and by drawings, plans, and elevations of several temples, taken by eminent artists on the spot. To these are added the Phigalian marbles, found among the ruins of a temple on Mount Cotyion, near Phigalia, believed to be the temple of Apollo Epicurius. The Æginetan statues, belonging to the Panhellenium or temple of Jupiter, on the island of Ægina, were discovered, in 1811, by some German and English travellers, and are now at Munich, the capital of Bavaria. A set of casts from these marbles is in the Royal Institution at Liverpool; and there is another in the Academy of the Fine Arts at Venice. These fragments are not the only remains of ancient Greek sculpture. The Apollo Belvidere, which was found among the ruins of ancient Antium in Italy, near the end of the fifteenth century, was purchased by Julius the Second, before he ascended the papal throne, and placed in the part of the Vatican called the Belvidere. It is ascribed to Agasius the Ephesian, and was probably made by the order of Nero. The figure is seven feet high, standing, with a cloak hanging over the left arm, and watching the effect of an arrow which he has just discharged against the serpent, Python: the lips curled with "beautiful disdain;" the nostrils distended; the brow serenely triumphant; the whole aspect full of majesty and power.

531. The beautiful fable of Niobe is well known: that she was punished by Apollo and Diana, for refusing to

worship their mother, Latona, with the destruction of her seven sons and seven daughters, and that by the excess of her grief she was turned into stone on Mount Syphilis, in Lydia,—a rock having, at a distance, the appearance of a woman weeping, is supposed to have given rise to the fiction. One of the great masters of sculpture, Scopas, or Praxiteles, has treated this subject in the noblest manner. Niobe, of colossal size, with her youngest daughter, of the natural size, forms the centre of a group, composed of the remaining children, with varying expressions of pain, fear, and grief, while on the ground is stretched one of the sons, dead, or dying.

532. These marble statues were found at Rome, and are now in the gallery of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence. There is some difficulty in deciding whether some of the figures, though very ancient, are not copies rather than originals. The Laocoon, one of the most celebrated groups of ancient sculpture, represents a priest of Apollo, during the Trojan war, writhing within the folds of two enormous serpents, which have destroyed his two sons, and are now crushing himself to death. Pliny says that Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rhodians, executed the principal figure, and the sons, and the wonderful folds of the serpents, out of one block of marble. The perfect knowledge of anatomy, and the command of various expression in this group have secured for it the acknowledgment of all competent judges that it is the masterpiece of human art. It was in the palace of Titus; was discovered in a vineyard at Rome in 1506, and is now in the museum of the Vatican. The Venus di Medici—a white marble statue, about five feet high, of exquisite beauty—was brought from the palace of the Medici at Rome, by order of duke Cosmo the Third, to his palace at Florence; where it now stands. It is regarded as being without an equal. The inscription on the base states it to be the work of Cleomenes, an Athenian, son of Apollodorus.

533. After the time of Phidias, the Grecian sculpture became less distinguished for grandeur than for softness and beauty. Agamenes of Athens, and Agoracritus of Paros, pupils of Phidias, Ctesilaus, Patrocles, and Canachus, devoted their genius to the representation of gods and heroes, the victors in the Olympic Games, and the suc-

cessful commanders in the wars of their times. Even during the decay of the national spirit, in the time of Philip of Macedon, the temples of Delphi and Olympia were adorned with the works of numberless artists, among whom the highest rank was held by Polyclethus. Praxiteles enriched the Ceramicus at Athens with his graceful sculptures; and his statues of Venus at Coos, and at Cnidos, excited the admiration of the civilized world. Pyrgoteles displayed his skill in the delicate ingenuity of his carving on gems, and Lysippus carried the art of sculpture in bronze to the highest perfection, in the age of Alexander. During the calamities of Athens, after the death of Alexander, her artists fled to the coasts of Seleucia and Alexandria. The rival parties in Greece destroyed the monuments of art possessed by their opponents. The last great works before the capture of Corinth by the Romans, were the Torso, or Hercules Belvidere, by Apollonia, an Athenian, and the Hercules Farnese, by Glycon.

534. A celebrated writer on ancient arts has divided the history of Sculpture into five periods. The first includes the *ancient* style, from Dædalus to Phidias; the second, the *sublime*, from Phidias to Praxiteles; the third, the *beautiful*, in the age of Alexander; and the last, the *decay* of sculpture, from the time of Septimus Severus till Constantine the Great.

535. The number of statues in Greece must have been exceedingly great. Mummius is said to have filled Italy with the sculptures he carried away from Greece; yet it is thought their absence would scarcely be felt. Though Nero plundered Delphi of five hundred statues, it has been calculated that more than two thousand were still left. Three thousand statues were brought to Rome from Rhodes; and Mutianus carried away as many from Athens, and even more from Delphi and Olympia.

536. The art of PAINTING amongst the Greeks does not appear to have made much progress before the age of Pericles; though it had been advancing, for more than a hundred years, from the hard outlines and clumsy figures of earlier times. The founder of the Athenian school was Polygnotus, of the isle of Thasos, whose contemporaries were Pausanous, the brother or the nephew of Phidias, Micon, Onatas of Ægina, and Dionysius of Colophon. In the

temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, Panæus painted the representation of Atlas supporting the earth and heavens, and relieved by Hercules; Theseus and Perithous, the personifications of Salamis and Greece; Hercules and the Nemean Lion; the deliverance of Prometheus by Hercules; together with other subjects. In the portico, called the *Pœcile*, at Athens, the same artist painted the battle of Marathon, which contained portraits of the Athenian and Plataean heroes. In the same portico, were the capture of Troy by Polygnotus, and the victory of Theseus over the Amazons by Mico; who likewise adorned the temple of Theseus with pictures of the battles between the Athenians and the Amazons, and between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ; and the temple of Castor and Pollux with the heroes of the Argonautic expedition. These paintings are supposed to have been upon panels: they remained for eight hundred years, and were removed in the reign of the emperor Arcadius. Many other productions of the same artist were described by ancient writers.

537. In the further cultivation of this art, Apollodorus is celebrated for his investigation of the principles of light and shade; Parrhasius of Ephesus, for the roundness and expressiveness of his figures; Euphiana of Corinth, for the laboriousness and consistent excellence of his works; Aristides of Thebes, for his power in expressing passion; Pausias of Sicyon, for painting children and the lighter classes of subjects; Pamphilus of Amphipolis in Macedonia, who flourished at Sicyon, for encaustic painting, or painting in which the colours are burned in; Timanthes is famed for his picture of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, in which the sorrow of the father is expressed by veiling his face with his robe. Nicias of Athens, excelled in female figures. Zeuxis of Heraclea, is celebrated for his Penelope, Hercules strangling the serpents, and Jupiter on his throne surrounded by the gods.

538. Apelles is the most illustrious of the Grecian painters. He was a native of the small island of Cos, in the *Ægean* sea, and lived in the age of Alexander the Great. His master in painting was Pamphilus of Amphipolis: by the most assiduous study and labour he excelled all others in the softness of his colouring and the grace of his drawing. He was much honoured by Alexander. As Pyrgoteles enjoyed

the exclusive privilege of representing Alexander on gems, and Lisippus of casting his likeness in bronze; to Apelles was confined the permission of drawing him in colours. His picture of Alexander, as the thundering Jove, grasping the thunderbolt in his hand, which seemed to start from the canvas, was sold to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, for four thousand pounds. The Venns (Anadyomené) rising from the sea, and pressing the wet locks with her hands, was the most celebrated of his works; which are described by Pliny as innumerable. Apelles was induced, by some paintings of Protogenes, to visit Rhodes for the purpose of seeing him. The account given of their intercourse by Pliny is highly interesting. So much was Apelles pleased with Protogenes, that he paid a very high price for one of his pictures; and thus raised his reputation among his own countrymen.

539. Sir Joshua Reynolds has said, "From the various ancient paintings which have come down to us, we may form a judgment, with tolerable accuracy, of the excellencies and the defects of the arts among the ancients. There can be no doubt but that the same correctness of design was required from the painter as from the sculptor; and if what has happened in the case of sculpture had likewise happened in regard to their paintings, and we had the good fortune to possess what the ancients themselves believed to be their master-pieces, I have no doubt that we should find their figures as correctly drawn as the Laocoon, and probably coloured like Titian."—*Notes to Fresnoy on Painting.*

540. The same causes which brought about the decay of the sister arts in Greece, had a similar effect on painting. The taste for classical subjects faded with the liberties of the nation. The Roman taste was perverted by caprice, ostentation, and unnatural absurdities. The illuminated manuscripts of the age of Constantine are specimens of the state of the art. The hatred of every thing that had been associated with heathenism gradually gave way to the love of splendid decoration, so natural to the Greeks; so that long after architecture, in all its ancient features, had disappeared, and sculpture was forbidden in the churches, the designs of mosaic pavements, and the multiplication of pictures of the saints, still gave employment to the painter.

The uncouth armour of the middle ages was unfavourable to the art by concealing the human figure, and preventing all grace of movement. In the reigns of Leo the philosopher, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the painters of Greece received encouragement; and from Constantinople they were invited to adorn the new cities, which, in the tenth century, were rising amid the wilds of Russia. These later works of the Grecian pencil, however defective in accuracy of outline, and in skilful execution, are nevertheless spoken of as showing some remembrance of the spirit and majesty of a better age. In an able French work on this subject, by Agincourt, mention is made of an interesting specimen of Greek art in the tenth century—the *menologue* of Basil II., deposited in the Vatican by Pius V., in the year 1015. It contains four hundred and thirty miniature pictures of saints or champions, painted in brilliant colours on grounds of gold; and the writer just referred to says, “The dignity conspicuous in the heads of the old men, and the modesty which distinguishes the attitudes of the women, attest that this is still a production, though a degenerate one, of the school of Greece.”

541. One branch of the Grecian painting, in its later age, is not without its interest to the Christian reader, even though he does not sympathise with the superstition from which it arose. It is known, that, at a very early period, the veneration for departed saints led to the production of their portraits, both in painting and in sculpture. Before the end of the sixth century, the worship of these images was warmly cherished by the ardent imagination of the Greeks. For a hundred and twenty years, the church was agitated with a fierce controversy on the subject, which ended in the separation of the Greek and Latin churches; the latter continuing, and the former abandoning and denouncing, the use of images in their worship. Before the breaking out of this dispute, the burial-places of Christians were adorned with paintings. The Saviour was painted under the allegorical representation of a shepherd carrying in his arms a lamb that had strayed from the fold, with typical stories from the Old Testament, and even forms derived from Grecian poetry. The fathers of the Greek church were divided in their opinions respecting the personal appearance of Jesus. Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Basil, and Cyril, founded,

on the language of Isaiah—"without form or comeliness"—"no beauty,"—the notion, that his aspect was unpleasing. Gregory of Nyssa, on the contrary, Chrysostom and Theodoret, argued from the language of David, "fairer than the sons of men"—that the Son of God, in human nature, must have displayed the perfection of manly beauty. Attempts were made to decide the controversy by appealing to pretended miraculous representations, which are still venerated in the Greek as well as in the Latin church. The legend respecting these supernatural portraits have long since been exploded as utterly wanting in evidence, and, indeed, contradicting one another.

542. The opinion of Basil prevailed in the earliest representations of the blessed Saviour among the Greeks—which, for the most part, were haggard, emaciated, and repulsive. Notwithstanding the authority of the church, the brilliant poetry of a more flourishing age of art reappeared in the numerous allegorical paintings of the fifth and sixth centuries. In some of these, the Incarnate God was represented as a youth of heavenly aspect, with his foot on the mane of a prostrate lion. A lamb expiring at the foot of the cross, which was sprinkled with the blood, was designed to represent his sacrifice. A radiant phoenix, mounting on high, or resting on the top of a palm-tree, was the symbol of the resurrection.

543. The modern Greeks retain some of the modes of working employed by their remote ancestors; but the practice of the arts has fallen into the lowest state of impoverishment and degradation.

544. Music among the Greeks was a much more comprehensive term than it is in our modern languages. With them it included poetry, and suggested the sentiment conveyed by the words, as well as the delight imparted by the melody of sounds. It appears to have approached much nearer to chaunting than to the more varied and complicated arrangement of notes in modern times. We must bear in mind, when we read of the powerful effects ascribed to their music, that these effects were chiefly owing to the noble sentiments—the generous, courageous, or religious notions,—the varied passions which the poetry, of which the music (as we now understand it) was only the accompaniment awakened. The principles of music, as a

science, were known to Pythagoras. The scale was well known. The principal instruments were the lyre and the flute, to which trumpets were added. The whole subject is obscure, according to the confession of the most learned writers. It seems now to be generally acknowledged, that the Greeks were not acquainted with what the moderns call harmony, or music in parts. Their instruments were rude, compared with those of modern Europe. The Dorian measure was majestic and solemn; the Lydian, soft and pensive; the Phrygian, bold and animated.

545. Our knowledge of the Greeks must be very imperfect, without some accurate ideas of the form and uses of their THEATRE, and the feelings with which they regarded it. In the processions in honour of Dionysus, or Bacchus, in ancient times, the whole population of the city met in their public place to offer thanksgivings by singing hymns, accompanied with dancing and the music of the lyre. These choruses were originally Doric, and were connected with the worship of Apollo. Into the Attic chorus, the old Bacchic song called Dithyramb, accompanied by the flute, was introduced. The leader of the Dithyramb, Thespis, made narrative speeches, or held dialogues with his chorus. This performance was originally displayed on a wooden scaffold, but afterwards in buildings of stone, which were called theatres, as affording accommodation to the spectators. Such buildings were common all over Greece, and were used for other purposes besides the acting of the chorus.

546. The theatre of Greece was built, or cut out of the rock, on the slope of a hill. On the north-west side, a curve of three-fourths of a circle was filled with benches hewn in the rock, and covered with marble, rising one behind another, divided by broad landings, and crossed by steps at convenient intervals. The access to these landings was by passages under ground, and within the walls. Behind the upper row of benches was a covered portico, in which the spectators could take shelter from the rain, as the building had no roof.

547. We must conceive of thirty or forty thousand persons occupying these benches, under the open sky, with the hills of their country in view, looking down on a level semi-circular space, called the orchestra, or dancing-place for the

chorus, near the centre of which is the thyméle, or altar of Bacchus. Beyond the orchestra are steps leading to the stage, or raised platform, a space extending from side to side of the building, behind which was a wall on which the scenery was painted, and above it a place for the Olympian gods.

548. The machinery of the theatre consisted of contrivances for changing the scene, for representing the passages of the shades from below, or of the gods through the air, and for imitating storms and thunder. It was customary for the Athenians to repair to the theatre early in the morning, and to remain, with brief intervals, from ten to twelve hours. The performances were conducted entirely by men. Women were, probably, present at the performance of tragedies, but not of comedies. The theatres were erected at the public expense, and the cost of the exhibitions was defrayed by wealthy citizens. Before the age of Pericles, a payment for admission was fixed by law. It was one of the popular acts of that leader to bring in a decree for greatly reducing the price, and ordering the amount to be paid, out of the sums laid up in the public treasury to defray the expenses of wars with the Persians, to any citizen who chose to apply.

549. There were many reasons why the early Christians were prevented from witnessing these performances. As entertainments merely, they felt that they could not be present at them, and yet maintain that separation from the world, on all but necessary occasions, to which their religion bound them. Besides, the choruses, especially in comedy, were often such as the pure morals of Christianity must totally condemn. And in addition to this, it was impossible to be present in a theatre without being a partaker of the idolatry with which all its proceedings were intimately blended; for they were not only dedicated to Bacchus, but sacrifices to him were offered on the altar at the close of the performance.

550. The attraction to the Athenians or other Greeks consisted in the vastness of the assembly, the splendour of the building, the beauty of the scenery, the fascination of the music and choral movements, the genius of the poet, and the stirring recollections of historical events, and of favourite characters, which were thus reproduced, in the light of day, before their eyes.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ORATORS OF GREECE.

Grecian eloquence—Earliest examples—Oration of Pericles, after the Peloponnesian war—Remarks—Speeches of Nicias and Alcibiades—Lysias—Antiphon—Isocrates—Niebuhr—Age of Demosthenes—Demades—Hyperides—Lycurgus—Phocion—Æschines—Demosthenes—His early industry and perseverance—Extract from his first Philippic.

551. **WHATEVER** may be thought of the accomplishments of the Greeks in other respects, all cultivated nations have yielded to them the palm of eloquence. Some of the heroes of Homer are happily described by the various qualities of soothing or stirring power with which they addressed their fellow-men. The earliest examples of regular Greek oratory are those which have been preserved by Thucydides,—himself a wonderful master of their wonderful language.

552. Living in the age of **PERICLES**, and often enjoying the opportunity of hearing that great orator, he has recorded several of his speeches. Of one of them, mentioned in the history, we may offer some attempt at an abridged translation. The first victims of the Peloponnesian war being buried with solemn pomp, in the Ceramicus, Pericles, walking slowly from the tombs, mounted a lofty pulpit, and thus addressed the assembled and mourning citizens of Athens: "Many of those who have spoken on such occasions as the present, have praised the author of the law, which we now fulfil, requiring an oration in honour of those who fall in the battles of their country. For myself, I think it enough that they should be honoured by imitating their example, rather than by the discourse of one man, who may either damage their credit by speaking ill, or sustain it by speaking well. It is a subject most difficult to handle worthily. The friends of the departed may be disappointed by the eulogy falling short of their knowledge and their feelings, while the stranger, envious of the deeds we celebrate, is apt to pronounce it all exaggerated. Still, as this solemnity is hallowed by the usage of our forefathers, it is my duty to obey the law, and to secure, if I am able, the

approbation of all who now hear me. I begin, as is just and becoming, with our forefathers. They always kept a firm hold of this country, and, by their valour, left it free for their descendants. Their sons enlarged the inheritance; and to us they have bequeathed the fruits of their toil. We ourselves, who are yet in the prime of our days, have nobly improved the success of our ancestors, and have made Athens sufficient in herself, whether for peace or war. I need not detail the exploits of our fathers, or our own: they are familiar to you. But let me show this numerous company of Athenians and strangers, by what means we have risen to this height of power and glory, before I speak of the deceased.

553. "We are happy in a form of government, which has become the model for other states, in which the power is committed, not to the few, but to the whole body of the people. However we may differ in our private stations, we all enjoy the same equality preserved to us by law. The public administration of our affairs is to be attained only by superior merit. He who can serve the state, is not prevented by his poverty or obscurity. We pass, without hindering one another, through the offices of state for which we are deemed fit, while we spend our private life in the endearments of friendship without suspicion or discontent. We revere the magistracy, and we count it a disgrace to violate the laws. Our minds are refreshed and delighted by the public recreations and sacrifices, conducted with elegance and pomp. The grandeur of Athens, our city, draws to it the produce of the whole earth; so that we enjoy, with the delicacies of our native land, those of other nations. In war we are superior to our enemies. We invite, instead of repelling, the resort of strangers. We have nothing to conceal, and nothing to fear. We rely less on the arts of war, than on the warmth of our souls. Though we train not our youth to the hardy habits by which others are inured to labour, we do not less boldly face the front of war. The Lacedæmonians never invade our territories, but with the united strength of their allies; while we, for the most part, subdue with ease the men who are fighting round their homes. No enemy has yet felt the strength of our whole force, for it is divided between sea and land, and engaged in different quarters.

554. . . . " In our mode of living, frugality is relieved by elegance, and we pursue philosophy without weakening our minds. We display our wealth only by our beneficence. No man is ashamed to confess poverty; though all feel that it is disgraceful to make no efforts to avoid it. We mingle attention to our private affairs with attention to the welfare of the public, and we pass with ease from the labours of life to the cares of the state. We are the only people who pronounce that man a useless citizen, who never meddles with the business of the government. We seriously debate our measures; and when the hour for acting comes, our courage is not the fruit of ignorance, but of deliberation. We keep our friends by conferring favours upon them, binding them to us by the law of kindness. Our Athens is the school of Greece. Each single citizen is formed to act every part in life with gracefulness and promptitude. The height on which we now stand is an undeniable proof that what I have said is true. We need no Homer as the herald of our praise, to adorn our history with the charms of verse. Our fleets are on every side, and the lasting monuments of our enmity, or of our friendship, are in every land. To defend this state of things, these victims of their own noble spirit have fought, and died. You are all prepared to sacrifice your lives in the same cause. For this reason have I enlarged on the stake which we have in this war. The praises of the state are, in fact, the praises of these men, and of men like these. On any other Greeks such encomiums would be extravagant. They thought it more glorious to die in defending their country, than to see her fall.

555. " For you, their survivors, pray that you may have a better fate; but cherish the spirit of these brave men; make the growing splendour of this community the object of your thought and passion. Think that the grandeur of Athens has been won by the brave. Giving themselves to the public, each of them has received a praise that will never die—a sepulchre which will be always glorious;—not the spot on which their bones are mouldering, nor the inscription on these columns. The earth is the sepulchre of the illustrious, and their record is in the memory of nations. From this moment, emulate these noble patterns; placing your happiness in liberty, your liberty in valour, be pre-

pared to meet all the dangers of war. To expose life is not so noble in the wretched and despairing, as in those who hazard the loss of all the enjoyments of the world. Adversity sinks more deeply into the hearts of the noble-minded after a long course of ease, than the stroke of death in the strength of manhood, and in the fulness of national hopes. For these reasons I do not bewail, I would rather console the parents of those who are now gone. You know to what unhappy accidents they were exposed from the time when they were born, and that happiness is the portion of those who have reached the most glorious time of life—as these have now, whom you lament—who have been happy in their career, and equally happy at its end. I know how hard it is to comfort those who, by the happiness of others, will be reminded of what they once enjoyed themselves. It is not the want of the good we never had that fills us with sorrow, but the loss of that to which we have been accustomed. Let those of you who are young enough be comforted by the hope of other sons. The children to be born hereafter will be your private solace by teaching you to forget those that are no more; and they will be a double comfort to our country—preventing her desolation, and securing her defence. Those who have no children to expose to danger for their country are of less value than you are to the state. You, whose age is advanced, reckon the advantage you have enjoyed in so many years of happiness, and fill the short space that yet remains with the glory of your fallen sons. It is greatness of soul only that never grows old. It is not wealth, but honour, that delights the close of life. ‘To you—the sons—the brothers of the departed, what a field of hard conflict is opened! To whatever you attain, you will ever be thought inferior to these, while you live; but when you die, there will be no restraint on the applauses of affection.’”

556. The oration concludes with adverting to the provisions of the Athenian law for the support and education of the families of those who were slain; with advices to the widows; and with directions to private persons to indulge in decent grief, and then retire.

557. Even from this imperfect sketch, the English reader may form an idea of the genius, wisdom, and eloquence of this extraordinary man. At the same time, he will see how

much there was in the circumstances, recollections, and feelings of an Athenian audience, to call forth the highest powers of a public speaker. We can scarcely forbear remarking, how cold and barren, after all, are the topics of consolation to a sorrowing multitude, compared with those in which the Christian religion is so rich. How glorious would this address have been, if it could have told the Athenians of the mediation of a crucified Saviour, assured them of the presence of the Divine Comforter, and opened before them, on the field of death, the sure hope of the resurrection and eternal life!

558. The next remarkable specimens of Grecian eloquence are those of Nicias and ALCIBIADES, in connexion with the Sicilian war, which was described in the fourteenth chapter. In the public deliberations of the people of Athens concerning that war, Nicias wished to dissuade his fellow-citizens from undertaking it. Alcibiades, on the other hand, was eager to promote it. The following speeches, taken from the history of Thucydides, will do more than any description we could give, to furnish the reader with the kind of discourses which were delivered by these distinguished men. Nicias, who had been chosen one of the commanders of the expedition against his will, believed that the Athenians were rashly bent on an undertaking, the difficulties of which had not been fully considered, and that they were influenced by specious rather than by solid reasons:

559. "I know, Athenians, that we are now met for the purpose of devising the best and promptest preparations for this war against Sicily. But, in my opinion, it behoves us to reconsider, whether, on the whole, the war itself is expedient. The present measure confers honour on me, and I yield to no man in overlooking my own safety. But while I do not despise the regard of a prudent man for his own life and fortune, a regard which would make him anxious for the public welfare, I shall now utter only what I believe to be for your common good. While I feel that what I have to say can have but little influence on your present temper, I shall plainly show you, that your eagerness is irrational, and that there is more difficulty than you think in gaining the end you seek.

560. "By engaging in this expedition, you will stir up

many enemies at home, besides bringing others upon you. You fancy that the late peace will continue. It will last only so long as you remain inactive. Many of the terms of the treaty are disputed. Many states, and those not the feeblest, are still in arms against us; while others are only imitating the temporary and treacherous quietude of the Spartans. But let them see our force divided, and they will join the force of Sicily. Let us not plunge a state so highly exalted as our own into the danger of losing our own empire while we grasp at that of others. The Chalcidians of Thrace, and other states nominally subjected to us, are either in a state of revolt, or watching their opportunity to throw off our dominion. If we bring them back to their duty, we may control them for the future; but even if we could subdue the Sicilians, we shall find it a matter of extreme difficulty to retain our power over them. In my judgment, the Sicilians would be less to be dreaded by us, if they were once reduced under the dominion of Syracuse, from which we are urged to help them to escape. You are now elated by your success against the Spartans and their allies. Now, nothing less than Sicily will content you. Our true interest lies, not in giving them an opportunity of retrieving their disgrace, by striking us while engaged in a distant war, but to guard our own constitution against the encroachments of their oligarchical principles. I am urged by my sense of duty to remind you, Athenians, that we have had but brief time to breathe, after the desolations of pestilence, and the waste of war. We ought to attend to our own exigencies, and not to be misled by fugitives whose interest it is to deceive us—who will scarcely thank us, if we redress their grievances—and who will involve us in their destruction, if we should fail. If there be”—alluding pointedly to Alcibiades—“a man, who, inflated with the honour assigned to him in this expedition, urges you to embark, mindful of his selfish views, and not qualified by experience for so high a post; if his passion be to excite admiration, and to repair his damaged fortune;—I conjure you, give him not the opportunity of gratifying this passion at his country’s cost. Be assured, such men will be corrupt in public office, as they are profligate in their private expenditure, and that the measure now projected is beyond the grasp of such a stripling. I own that I am alarmed by

the crowd of youths that gather round him. I implore the experienced men before me to scorn the charge of fear which these said youths will be ready to heap upon them. Your experience has taught you that success is seldom given to hot presumption, but generally to calm deliberation. In the name of your country, I call on you to oppose this expedition."

561. Alcibiades stood up and said,—“Yes, Athenians, to me, before others, the command of this expedition is rightly assigned: for with this I must begin, since Nicias has attacked me. I believe that I deserve the trust. The things laid to my charge give splendour to the names of my ancestors, and to my own, while they increase the glory of my country. My magnificence at Olympia has exalted Athens in the eyes of Greece. It was I—the first private man in Greece—that brought seven chariots to the race, and gained the first, the second, and the fourth crown. These things are honoured by the laws of Greece, and produce an impression of the power of Athens. My extravagance here in Athens, whatever envy it may excite, strikes all strangers with the splendour of our city. In my public life, to whom am I inferior? Without any expense on your part, I have brought the greatest powers of Peloponnesus to your side, and have shown the world that the Spartan power is no longer to be dreaded. Such are the exploits of my giddy youth. Let Nicias enjoy the honour in which he is so fortunate: but lay hold of the services which he and I are able to render you, and repeal not the decree against Sicily, as though you were not able to encounter the enemy. The Sicilians are used to sudden and perpetual changes. They have neither arms nor stores to resist us;—they are disjointed among themselves. The number of their Greek allies is inconsiderable. There are barbarians there, too; who, from their hatred of the Syracusans, are sure to join us. We need not distrust the bravery of those we leave behind us for the defence of Athens. Our fleet, at home, will be sufficient to protect her from all her enemies. How can we excuse ourselves, if we abandon our design? How shall we evade our promises, our oaths? We should never have gained, or kept, our present empire, if we had not succoured all, whether Greeks or barbarians, who implored protection from us. To that empire it is not in our power to prescribe arbitrary

limits. Those whom we refuse to awe by our power may become our masters. Peace is not so important to you as it is to others, unless you mean to change your form of government. By showing our eagerness for this war, we shall show how we despise the haughty spirit of the Peloponnesians. If we subdue the people of Sicily, we may gain the sovereignty of Greece; and at the worst, even though we fail to depress the Syracusans, we shall be masters of our own retreat. Let not your plan, Athenians, be disconcerted by the councils of Nicias, which can be welcome only to the indolent. Heed not his attempts to sow dissensions between the young and the old. Our forefathers raised Athens to her glory by the union of the elder and the younger. They are dependent the one upon the other. The state that sinks into supineness grows old and feeble, but by continued action we can make every obstacle give way before us."

562. **LYSIAS** was famed among the Athenians as a professional advocate, who had a large practice as a writer of speeches to be delivered by others, greatly admired for the subtlety of their reasoning and the refinement of their style. He is said to have composed a defence of Socrates, which the philosopher declined, as not suited to the simplicity of his own character. Two hundred orations are ascribed to him, of which only two were unsuccessful. Many of these orations still exist, and have been translated into English by Dr. Gillies. They throw much light on the history of his times. **ANTIPHON** is regarded as the first of the Athenians who wrote speeches for clients, and one of the earliest teachers of rhetoric. Thucydides describes him as second to no Athenian in personal merit, and sagacity of genius, but the best pleader that had, down to his time, ever been known. **ISOCRATES** devoted a long life to the teaching of rhetoric, by which he acquired great wealth. The noblest youths of Athens, of the neighbouring states, and of foreign nations, were among his disciples. Niebuhr, the great German historian, has not hesitated to speak of him, notwithstanding his rhetorical fame, as, "at least in his old age, a thoroughly bad citizen, and an ineffable fool." His orations are dignified in tone, and gorgeous in expression, florid, swelling, musical, yet too elaborate, affected, and uniform, and little suited to the practical business of life. He is said

to have spent two years in the preparation of one discourse, called "The Panegyric."

563. The time of DEMOSTHENES, however, was the illustrious age of Athenian eloquence. The popular government of that state could not fail to give weight to the public speaker. The improvement in literature and in arts refined the general taste. And the dangers that surrounded Athens, at that period, afforded the greatest scope for the exertions of those talents by which the people were to be counselled or persuaded. DEMADES, a man of obscure birth and education, had raised himself by his abilities to the rank of a public leader, and was remarkable for the boldness and bluntness of his address. HYPERIDES was admired for his delicacy and pathos. LYCURGUS and PHOCION owed their influence less to their abilities as speakers, than to their reputations as men of judgment and integrity. ÆSCHINES spoke in a flowing and musical style, natural and easy, and not without force and splendour.

564. DEMOSTHENES, the prince of orators, outshines all his rivals, in force, manliness, fire, vehemence; seldom indulging in ornament, he sacrifices beauty to clearness, energy, and majesty. He is austere, sublime, awful as lightning, impetuous as a torrent. The lofty genius and daring ambition of Demosthenes were cultivated with the utmost labour. We are told, that with his own hand he copied the history of Thucydides eight times. He deeply studied the writings of Plato, and all the best Attic writers. To avoid distraction, he shut himself in a cave to study. To correct some defect in his pronunciation, he practised speaking with pebbles in his mouth. To accustom himself to the tumult of a public assembly, he declaimed by the sea-shore, amid the roar of the tempest. His speeches against Philip, in the Olynthiacs, and the Philippics, are the monuments of his integrity, public spirit, and resistless power of reasoning—and of rousing the patriotism of his fellow-citizens. The Oration "for the crown" is usually read together with that of his rival and enemy Æschines, and in comparison with the other, whether read in Greek, or in a translation, is felt to be triumphant. When Æschines retired to Rhodes as a teacher of rhetoric, he read both his own oration and that of Demosthenes to

his pupils. His own was admired greatly; but that of Demosthenes was applauded beyond measure. "How would you have been impressed by it," said his defeated rival, "if you had *heard him speak it*?" Demosthenes was not only the greatest, but the *last* of the Greek orators. With the loss of freedom, eloquence expired. A race of sophists and rhetoricians still taught the art of composing discourses; but *the fire had gone out*, and men were amused, rather than inflamed.

565. It may be acceptable to the reader to have such a specimen as may give some idea—faint though it must be—of the oratory of Demosthenes. The following extract is from the first Philippic :

566. "Had we been met, Athenians, on some new question, I should have waited till most of those who usually address you had offered their opinions. If I had agreed with them, I should have remained silent; if not, I should have attempted to declare my own. But as the points now to be considered are those on which you have often heard these speakers, I shall be pardoned for rising first; for if the advice formerly given you had been good, you would not have needed to consult together to-day.

567. "First, then, O Athenians, however wretched our present affairs may seem to be, they must not be thought desperate. What I am going to say may be thought a contradiction; yet it is certain that we may build some hopes upon our past misfortunes. Our difficulties are owing to our own supineness. If, in spite of every effort demanded by our duty, we had been thus situated, we might indeed despair. But now Philip has conquered your indolence; he has not subdued the state. You are not defeated; for you have never put forth your power. If any man here thinks that in Philip we shall find a formidable enemy, surrounded as he is by mighty armies, while we are weak, and despoiled of our dominions, I cannot but agree with him. Yet let him reflect on this;—there was a time, Athenians, when we held Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone, and all the neighbouring country; and then, many of the states now subject to Philip were independent, and more disposed to be allied with us than with him. If, at that time, when he was weak and without allies, Philip had desponded of success against you, he would

not have undertaken those enterprises which have raised him to his present pitch of greatness. But he knew that the strongest places are but prizes placed between the combatants, ready for the conqueror.—Animated by these sentiments, he overruns whole nations. If you, my countrymen, will now at length be persuaded to like sentiments; if each of you will approve himself, to the utmost of his ability, as a useful citizen; if the rich will contribute, and the young take the field; if you will be yourselves, banishing vain hopes, and love of ease—by the help of the gods you may recal the opportunities you have neglected, regain your dominions, and punish this man's insolence.

568. But when, my countrymen, will you begin? Do you wait for some dread calamity—some hard necessity? Look at our condition at this moment. To free men, what necessity more urgent than merited disgrace? Is it your ambition to wander through the city, asking each other, "What news?" Can anything be more new than that a Macedonian should conquer Athenians, and give law to Greece? "Is Philip dead?"—"No; but he is sick." What is it to you, whether Philip be sick or not? If he should die, your neglect of your interest would soon raise up another Philip. I know that many are circulating as intelligence every floating rumour. Some cry,—“Philip has joined the Lacedæmonians, and they are planning the destruction of Thebes.” Others tell us,—“He has sent an embassy to the king of Persia:” others,—“He is fortifying places in Illyria.” Thus we go about with our several tales. I do believe, Athenians, he is intoxicated with his success; that he is indulging imaginary projects, because he sees no power arising to withstand him; but I cannot think that the weakest among us—for such they are who spread such tales—are in possession of his secrets. Let us not heed these stories. Let us be sure of this—he is our enemy; he has long insulted us; the help of others has failed us; our resource is in ourselves. If we are unwilling to meet him abroad, we must engage him here. Let us feel assured of these things, and we shall be no longer guided by reports. We need not speculate on what is going to happen; for nothing good can happen if we attend not to our own safety, and act not as becomes Athenians. This suggestion must first be guarded against. I readily admit, that were

it in our power to determine whether we should be at peace or war, peace is most desirable. But if the other party has drawn the sword, and gathered his armies round him; if he amuses us with the name of peace, while, in fact, he is proceeding to the greatest hostilities, what is left for us but to oppose him? If any man take that for a peace which is only a preparation for his leading his forces directly upon us, after his other conquests, his mind is disordered. At least, it is only our conduct towards Philip, not Philip's conduct towards us, that is to be termed a peace; and this is the peace for which Philip's treasures are expended, for which his gold is so liberally scattered among our venal orators—that he may be at liberty to carry on the war against you, while you make no war on him. Ye gods! is there a man of a right mind who would judge of peace or war by words, and not by actions? Is there a man so weak as to imagine that it is for the sake of those paltry villages of Thrace, Drongylus, and Cabyle, and Mastira, that Philip is now braving the utmost dangers, and enduring the severity of toils and seasons; and that he has no designs upon the arsenals, and the navies, and the silver mines of Athens? or that he will take up his winter-quarters among the cells and dungeons of Thrace, and leave you to enjoy all your revenues in peace?—But you wait, perhaps, till he declares war against you. He will never do so—no, though he were at your gates. He will still be assuring you that he is not at war. Such were his professions to the people of Arcum, when his forces were in the heart of their country; such his professions to those of Phœæ, until the moment he attacked their walls; and thus he amused the Olynthians, till he came within a few miles of them, and then he sent them a message that either they must quit their city, or he his kingdom. He would, indeed, be the absurdest of mankind, if, while you suffer his outrages to pass unnoticed, and are wholly engaged in accusing and prosecuting one another, he should, by declaring war, put an end to your private contests, warn you to direct all your zeal against him, and deprive his pensioners of their most specious pretence for suspending your resolutions—that of his not being at war with the state. I, for my part, hold and declare that, by his attack on the Megareans, by his attempts upon the liberty of

Eubœa, by his late incursions into Thrace, by his practices in Peloponnesus, Philip has violated the treaty ; he is in a state of hostility with you, unless you shall affirm that he who prepares to besiege a city is still at peace, until the walls be actually invested. The man whose designs, whose whole conduct, tend to reduce me to subjection, that man is at war with me, though not a blow has yet been given, nor a sword drawn.—All Greece, all the barbarian world, is too narrow for this man's ambition. And, though we see and hear all this, we send no embassies to each other, we express no resentment; but into such wretchedness are we sunk, that, even to this day, we neglect what our interest and duty demand. Without engaging in associations, or forming confederacies, we look with unconcern upon Philip's growing power : each fondly imagining, that the time in which another is destroyed, is so much gained to himself ; although no man can be ignorant, that, like the periodic return of a fever, he is coming upon those who think themselves the most remote from danger. And what is the cause of our present passive disposition ? For some cause, surely, there must be, why the Greeks, who have been so zealous heretofore in defence of liberty, are now so prone to slavery. The cause, Athenians, is, that a principle, which was formerly fixed in the minds of all, now exists no more ; a principle which conquered the opulence of Persia, maintained the freedom of Greece, and triumphed over the powers of sea and land. That principle was, an unanimous abhorrence of all those who accepted bribes from princes that were enemies to the liberties of Greece. To be convicted of bribery, was then a crime altogether unpardonable. Neither orators, nor generals, would then sell for gold the favourable conjunctures which fortune ut into their hands. No gold could impair our firm concord at home, our hatred and diffidence or tyrants and barbarians. But now all things are exposed to sale, as in a public market. Corruption has introduced such manners as have proved the bane and destruction of our country. Is a man known to have received foreign money ? People envy him. Does he own it ? They laugh. Is he convicted in form ? They forgive him. So universally has this contagion diffused itself among us.

569. " If there be any who, though not carried away

by bribes, yet are struck with terror, as if Philip were something more than human, they may see, upon a little consideration, that he has exhausted all those artifices to which he owes his present elevation; and that his affairs are now ready to decline. For I myself, Athenians, should think Philip really to be dreaded, if I saw him raised by honourable means. When forces join in harmony and affection, and one common interest unites confederating powers, then they share the toils with alacrity, and endure distresses with perseverance. But when extravagant ambition and lawless power, as in the case of Philip, have aggrandized a single person, the first pretence, the slightest accident, overthrows him, and dashes his greatness to the ground. For it is not possible, Athenians, it is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury, and treachery. These may, perhaps, succeed for once, and borrow, for a while, from hope, a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness; and they fall, of themselves, to ruin. For, as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the firmest stability, so the grounds and principles of great enterprises should be justice and truth. But this solid foundation is wanting in all the enterprises of Philip.

570. "Hence, among his confederates, there are many who hate, who distrust, who envy him. If you will exert yourselves, as your honour and your interest require, you will not only discover the weakness and insincerity of his confederates, but the ruinous condition also of his own kingdom. For you are not to imagine, that the inclinations of his subjects are the same with those of their prince. He thirsts for glory; but they have no part in this ambition. Harassed by those various excursions he is ever making, they groan under perpetual calamity; torn from their business and their families; and beholding commerce excluded from their coasts. All those glaring exploits which have given him his apparent greatness, have wasted his natural strength,—his own kingdom, and rendered it much weaker than it originally was. Besides, his profligacy and baseness, and those troops of buffoons and dissolute persons, whom he caresses, and keeps constantly about him, are, to men of just discernment, great indications of the weakness of his mind. At present, his successes cast a shade over these things; but let his arms meet with the least disgrace, his

feebleness will appear, and his character be exposed. For, as in our bodies, while a man is in apparent health, the effect of some inward debility, which has been growing upon him, may for a time be concealed; but as soon as disease comes, all his secret infirmities show themselves in whatever part of his frame the disorder is lodged; so, in states and monarchies, while they carry on a war abroad many defects escape the general eye; but, as soon as war reaches their own territory, their infirmities come forth to general observation.

571. " Fortune has great influence in all human affairs; but I, for my part, should prefer the fortune of Athens, with the least degree of vigour in asserting your cause, to this man's fortune. For we have many better reasons to depend upon the favour of heaven than this man. But, indeed, he who will not exert his own strength, has no title to depend either on his friends, or on the gods. Is it at all surprising, that he who is himself ever amidst the labours and dangers of the field; who is everywhere; whom no opportunity escapes; to whom no season is unfavourable; should be superior to you, who are wholly engaged in contriving delays, and framing decrees, and inquiring after news? The contrary would be much more surprising, if we, who have never hitherto acted as became a state engaged in war, should conquer one who acts, in every instance, with indefatigable vigilance. It is this, Athenians, it is this which gives him all his advantage against you. Philip, constantly surrounded by his troops, and perpetually engaged in projecting his designs, can, in a moment, strike the blow where he pleases. But we, when any accident alarms us, first appoint our trierarchs; then we allow them to exchange by substitution; then the supplies are considered; next, we resolve to man our fleet with strangers and foreigners; then, we find it necessary to supply their place ourselves. In the midst of these delays, what we are sailing to defend the enemy is already master of: for the time of action is spent by us in preparing; and the issues of war will not wait for our slow and irresolute measures.

572. " Consider, then, your present situation, and make such provision as the urgent occasion requires. Talk not of your ten thousands, nor your twenty thousand foreigners — of those armies which appear so magnificent on paper only;

great and terrible in your decrees, in execution weak and contemptible; but let your army be made up chiefly of the native forces of the state; let it be an Athenian strength to which you trust; and whomsoever you appoint as general, let them be entirely under his guidance and authority. For, ever since our armies have been formed of foreigners alone, their victories have been gained over our allies and confederates only, while our enemies have risen to an extravagance of power."

573. He then unfolds his plans, and concludes:—"For my part, I have never sought your favour by speaking anything but what I was convinced would serve you, and now I have freely uttered my sentiments. It would have pleased me, that, as it is for your interest to have the truth laid before you, so I might have the advantage; for then I should have spoken with more alacrity. Yet, uncertain as the consequence may be to myself, I determined to speak, believing that the measures I recommend, if adopted, will be for the general welfare. And, of all the opinions offered to you, may the gods direct those to be chosen which are most for the public good!"

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

Sketch of the rise of philosophy—Character—The Seven Sages of Greece:—Thales: Solon: Chilon: Pittacus: Bias: Cleobulus: Perlander:—Some of their aphorisms—Æsop—Sketch of Thales' life and pursuits—Anaximander, founder of the *Ionian* school—Anaximenes—Anaxagoras—His doctrine—Succeeded by Diogenes—Apollonius—Archelaus—The *Eleatic* school, founded by Xenophanes—Parmenides—Zeno and Millæus—Teachers of the atomic philosophy—Leucippus—Democritus—Doctrines—Some of his maxims—Protagoras—Heraclitus—Temper and life—Resignation—Foundation of the *the Italian* school by Pythagoras—Native place and early youth, etc.—Division of classes into exoteric and esoteric—Definition of the terms—Crotona—Three hundred—Socrates—Character of his philosophy—His method and place of teaching—Doctrine of the soul—His genius, or *dæmon*—Xenophon's remarks on him—His general character—Series of observations on his life and death—Æschines—His offer of himself to Socrates—Aristippus—The *Cyrenian* school—Euclid of Megara—Schools of Phædon, Ellis, of Menedemus—Plato—His perseverance in study—Invited to help in the modelling the Grecian governments—Sold into slavery—Redeemed—Dionysius—Dion—Plato's third visit to Syracuse—Aristippus—Diogenes—Æschines—Plato at the Olympic games—Anecdotes—Last days—Burial place—his Dialogues—Outline of his philosophy—Comparison of the writings of Plato with the New Testament—Succession of Sponisippus—Xenocrates—His integrity—Polemo—Friendship with Crates—Cranor—Discourse on grief—The *middle academy*—Arcesilaus—Hieronimus—Opposition to his doctrines—Carneades—The new academy—Clitomachus—Doctrine of morals—Philo of Larissa—Antiochus—Aristotle, founder of the *Peripatetic* school—Connexion with Plato—Removal to Atarneus—Mitylene—His order of instruction—Opposition to him after the death of Alexander—Death at Chalced—Character of his writings—His philosophy—Theophrastus—Nicomachus—Demetrius—Phalerus—Cassander—Strabo—Difference of doctrines respecting matter—Lycon—End of Demetrius—The *Cynic* school founded by Antisthenes—His appearance and manners—Sentiments of Antisthenes—Diogenes and his tub—Xenades—Alexander the Great meeting with him—Death—Respect paid to his memory—Catalogue of sayings—His followers, Onesicritus, Crates, Metrocles, Antigonus, Menedemus—Appearance—Stoics—Philosophy—Zeno—Early life—Monument to him in the Ceramicus—Doctrines of the stoics—Disciples of Zeno—Succeeded by Cleanthes—History and progress in life—Chrysippus—Diogenes of Seleucia—Last of the Greek stoics, Posidonius—Epicurus—His youth, etc.—Appellations of the different sects of philosophers—Doctrine of Epicurus—Opposition of the stoics—The results of the conquests of Alexander.

574. To explain all the systems of philosophy which flourished in the successive ages of Grecian history would require a large volume; and such a volume; wisely written, would comprehend the entire development of the Grecian intellect, and its influence on the religion, institutions, politics, and national character of that people. All that we can properly attempt in this place, is a brief sketch of the history, opinions, and methods, of the remarkable men, whose names are most prominent, and who were the founders of the most noted sects into which the schools of Grecian philosophy were divided.

575. It is known that, long before the rise of Greece, philosophy had flourished in the east, and that its germs were carried into Greece from those countries from which the earliest colonists had brought all the other elements of civilisation. The resemblance between the eastern and the Grecian philosophy is most observable in the Grecian philosophy of the fabulous ages, which is embodied in the orphic hymns, which are still preserved, and in the poem of Hesiod. On this obscure subject we may not profess to know more than that some of the ancients ascribed all things to a force inherent in matter, and others—and these the greater part—imagined that this matter, or chaos, existed from eternity, but received its form from the power of God. The poetical allegories which constitute the mythical literature of Greece, have charmed the imagination by their lively personifications under the forms and feelings of humanity: and, while we reject these fables as historical truths, they are still most precious as unfolding the earliest philosophy, and illustrating the mind of this remarkable people. To the allegories of poetry succeeded the sentences of the ancient *sophoi*—wise men—renowned for the wisdom of their moral maxims, or their political institutions. The seven sages of Greece were Thales; Solon; Chilon, of Lacedæmon; Pittacus, of Mitylene, in Lesbos; Bias, of Priene, in Ionia; Cleobulus, of Rhodes; and Periander, of Corinth. Though these men were practical rather than speculative, their wise sayings have been treasured up for the instruction of all ages. The following are some of their aphorisms, or brief sentences:—

576. Of Thales: Be equally mindful of friends, whether present or absent.—Study not to beautify thy face, but thy mind.—Enrich not thyself by unjust means.—Cherish thy parents.—If thou art a ruler, rule thyself.—Use moderation.—Believe not everything.—Be not idle, though thou art rich.—Know thyself.—Neither the thoughts nor the crimes of bad men are concealed from the gods.—Health of body, a competent fortune, and a cultivated mind, are the chief sources of happiness.—Parents may expect from their children the obedience they paid to their own parents.—Stop the mouth of slander by prudence.

577. Of Solon: Of nothing, too much.—Flee pleasures; for they bring sorrow.—Observe honesty in conversation

more strictly than an oath.—Lie not ; but speak the truth.—Meditate on serious things.—Neither procure, nor part with, friends in haste.—By learning to obey, you will know how to command.—Let no man be pronounced happy before his death.—I grow old, learning many things.—Laws are like cobwebs, that entangle the weak ; but are broken through by the strong. In everything you do, consider the end."

578. Of Chilon : Three things are difficult :—to keep a secret ; to bear an injury patiently ; and to spend leisure time well.—Visit your friend in adversity, rather than in prosperity.—Honour old age.—Think before you speak.—Gold is tried by the touch-stone ; men are tried by gold.—Know thyself.—Desire not impossible things.—Honest loss is better than dishonest gain ; for by the one a man suffers once, by the other, always.—Rapid movements indicate a kind of phrenzy.—It is better to be loved than to be feared.—Speak no evil of the dead.

579. Of Pittacus : Power discovers the man.—Watch for opportunity.—Reproach not the unhappy, for the hand of God is on them.—Whatever thou doest, do it well.—What thou thinkest ill in thy neighbour, do not thyself.—Talk not of thy schemes before they are executed.

580. Of Bias : Great minds alone can support sudden reverses of fortune.—Love your friend with caution ; for hereafter he may become your enemy.—Deliberate slowly, and act with resolution.—Abhor hasty speaking ; for then repentance follows.—Keep thine actions in remembrance.—Praise not a worthless man for the sake of his wealth.—If you are handsome, do handsome things.—Whatever good you do, ascribe to the gods.

581. Of Cleobulus : Employ thyself in things excellent.—Take care of thy body, and of thy soul.—Govern thy tongue.—Maintain piety.—Do nothing with violence.—Instruct thy children.—If thou art rich, be not lifted up ; if thou art poor, be not cast down.—Avoid extremes.—Be more desirous to hear than to speak.—Be kind to your friends, that they may continue such ; and to your enemies, that they may become friends.—When you go abroad, consider what you have to do ; when you return home, what you have done.

582. Of Periander : Pleasures are mortal : virtue is

immortal.—Seek to be worthy of your parents.—There is nothing which prudence cannot accomplish.—Keep thy word.—Betray not secrets.—Conceal thy misfortunes.

583. With these seven wise men Plutarch has associated the name of *Æsop*. He is supposed to have been a Phrygian, brought to Athens as a slave. His moral sentences are the foundation of the ingenious and instructive fables which bear his name.

584. The scientific method of teaching philosophy among the Greeks is ascribed by Plutarch, Strabo, Cicero, and other ancient writers, to Thales, born at Miletus six hundred years before Christ, of a Phœnician family, and contemporary with Solon, the Athenian legislator. In pursuit of knowledge, he travelled to Crete, and to Egypt, where he taught the priests of Memphis to measure the heights of the pyramids by the length of their shadows. He studied mathematics, and invented several of the propositions embodied in the elements of Euclid. He had a method of calculating eclipses; he taught the Greeks the division of the heavens into five zones, and the solstitial and equinoctial points; and he corrected the calendar. In natural philosophy, he taught that the stars are fiery bodies; that the moon is an opaque body, illumined by the sun; and that the earth is a sphere, in the centre of the universe. He considered water to be the element from which all things are made. He seems to have regarded mind as the principle of motion.

585. Anaximander, the founder of the *Ionic* sect, is represented as the friend of Thales, and the first teacher among the Greeks who committed his instructions to writing, and who delineated the surface of the earth, and the divisions of land and water on a globe. He was succeeded by Anaximenes, whose leading doctrine had reference to air as the infinite principle of all things. His disciple, Anaxagoras of Clazomene, was the teacher of Pericles, Euripides, and Socrates. When banished from Athens, he employed himself in teaching at Lampsacus. To a friend who regretted his banishment, he replied: "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me." The leading principle of his philosophy was the doctrine of an infinite mind as the author of all life and motion. He was succeeded by Diogenes Apollonia, like himself a follower

of Anaximenes, who added the study of eloquence to that of philosophy. The last teacher of this school was Archelaus, who is said to have been one of the instructors of Socrates.

586. While philosophy was thus cultivated by the Ionic school, the *Eleatic* school was founded at Elea, or Velia, among a colony of Phocæans on the western coast of the south of Italy, by Xenophantes, from Colophon. He is believed to have laid the foundation of this philosophy in the admission of a supreme intelligence, and to have taken the lead in rejecting the popular superstition, which adapted the objects of worship to the nature of man. In the old age of Xenophantes, Parmenides, a native of Elea, wrote the doctrines of his school in verses which, in their present mutilated state, afford little help for the explanation of his system. He appears to have seen the distinction between sense and reason, between the perception of objects through the organs of sense, and the abstract truths apprehended by the intellect. His fellow-citizen, Zeno (not the founder of the stoical philosophy,) and Milissus, of Samos, a warrior as well as philosopher, were remarkable for the subtlety with which they opposed common opinions, and the doctrines of other teachers, rather than for the successful pursuit of truth.

587. The earliest teachers of the atomic philosophy were Leucippus and Democritus. This philosophy may be expounded in a few words. Innumerable atoms of various figures, striking one against the other, occasioned several curved motions, in the course of which atoms of similar figure came together, and formed bodies, and these bodies are the world. The father of Democritus, who lived at Abdera in Thrace, joined his fellow-citizens in entertaining Xerxes on his return to Persia from the invasion of Greece; in return for which service the king, besides making the Abderites rich presents, left among them some Chaldean Magi, by some of whom, it is reported, Democritus received instructions in astronomy and in theology. On his father's death, he travelled in search of philosophy to Egypt, to learn geometry from the priests; to Ethiopia, to converse with the Gymnosophists; and to Persia, to learn philosophy from the Magi. After many years thus spent, he returned to Abdera, and acquired fame as the Laughing Philosopher,

probably because he treated with derision the stupidified race of men among whom he lived. It was he who said: "Truth lies in a deep well, from which it is the office of Reason to draw it up." He taught that the soul of man perishes with the body. He denied the existence of God as the Creator and Ruler of the universe. He taught that happiness consists in tranquillity of mind; and that all moral distinctions arise from custom or from human laws.

588. The following are some of the maxims ascribed to him:—

"He who subdues his passions is more heroic than he who vanquishes an enemy; yet there are men who, while they command nations, are slaves to pleasure.

"It is criminal, not only to do mischief, but to wish it.

"He who enjoys what he has, without regretting the want of what he has not, is a happy man.

"The sweetest things become the most bitter by excess.

"Do nothing shameful, though you are alone; revere yourself more than all other men.

"By desiring little, a poor man makes himself rich.

"A cheerful man is happy, though he possess little; a fretful man is unhappy in the midst of affluence."

589. The *tenets of Democritus were carried to Athens* by Protagoras of Abdera; but the Athenians banished him, on account of the sceptical tendency of his philosophy. Among the followers of Democritus were Diagoras, of the Isle of Melos, and Anaxarchus, of Abdera, the friend and flatterer of Alexander the Great.

590. Heraclitus of Ephesus, convinced of his ignorance by reflecting on the workings of his own mind, was early initiated into the mysteries of the Pythagorean philosophy by Xenophantes. His fellow-citizens invited him to the supreme magistracy in Ephesus; but he declined it in favour of his brother. Soon after, he was seen playing with some boys in the court of the Temple of Diana; and to those who expressed surprise that he was not better employed, he said, "Why are you surprised that I pass my time with children? It is surely better than governing the corrupt Ephesians." Being of a splenetic temper, he retired to the cave of a mountain, and lived on the fruits of the earth. Darius, king of Persia, gave him an invitation to his court; but he treated it with contempt. This is the

Weeping Philosopher, whom the Grecian fables have represented as always shedding tears over the vices of the Ephesians, and of the world. With better reason he has been styled the Obscure Philosopher. His writings were preserved in the Temple of Diana. So far as we can make out his meaning, he appears to have taught—that ethereal sparks of an eternal fire, always in motion, are the elements of all things; of this fire the souls of men are parts; God is the rational principle which animates the eternal fire; human life is the death of the soul; temperance is the first virtue, and following nature the highest wisdom; all things are governed by a necessary law. This philosophy was learned from Cratylus by Plato—by whose doctrine it was superseded—and by Hippocrates, the father of medicine.

591. The other western school of philosophy, the *Italic*, was founded by PYTHAGORAS. He was a native of Samos, connected with the most ancient families in the island, though his father is reported to have been of foreign extraction. He received in early life the instructions of Pherecydes of Syros; and of Anaximander, of Miletus. He was initiated into several of the Greek mysteries. He spent some time in Egypt. According to Cicero, he was the first that took the title of *philosopher*—implying that he was rather devoted to the *pursuit* of wisdom than already possessed of it. He made important discoveries in astronomy, music, and geometry. His doctrines were veiled in symbols, after the Egyptian fashion. At Delos, he professed to receive precepts from Apollo; and, at Crete, he was admitted by the priests of Cybele to the cave of Mount Ida, where Jupiter was believed to have been buried. On his return to Samos, he retired to a secret cave, to which he admitted his chosen followers, and taught them the most abstruse doctrines of his philosophy as responses from a divine oracle. From Samos he proceeded to Italy, where he established himself at Crotona, and obtained, by his pretended miracles and his doctrines, the highest influence throughout the whole of Magna Grecia. That influence he used for political purposes, urging the people to resist the encroachments of their tyrannical rulers. It is a matter of no small difficulty to unfold the doctrines taught by Pythagoras. His method of teaching is well known. His disci-

ples were divided into two classes—the exoteric, and the esoteric. The exoteric were those who only received symbolical instruction. To the esoteric, the meaning of these symbols was explained. His school was partly religious, partly philosophical, and partly political. From the numerous authors who have written concerning him, we may gather the following brief summary of his philosophy :—The end of philosophy is to free the mind from whatever hinders its progress towards its perfection, by raising it to the contemplation of pure truth : this end is to be gained by steps, of which the first, is the study of mathematics, which includes numbers and magnitude. Number, as existing in the Divine mind, is the cause of being. The most probable explanation of the doctrine respecting number, is, that it is the symbol of the forms or notions of things as existing in the Divine mind. Music was a science of mathematical principles and proportions. The “music of the spheres” was—the harmony of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. He defined the point, line, and superficies, of geometry, as corresponding to the numbers one, two, three, and four, in arithmetic. He invented several of the theorems contained in Euclid’s Elements. It is thought that he had the true idea of the solar system, revived by Copernicus, and demonstrated by Newton. From these preparatory studies, the disciples of Pythagoras were led to the higher truths of morals and theology—those truths which are immutable and eternal. To acquire these, it was necessary to subdue the passions, to pray, to abstract the mind from sensible things, and to live in retirement from the world.

592. According to the Pythagorean doctrine, God was the soul of the world, pervading all nature ; man a compendium of the universe, his soul consisting of two parts—the rational seated in the brain, and the sensitive, including the passions, seated in the heart ; the latter perishing, but the former immortal. After the rational or immortal soul leaves the body, it passes, in an ethereal form, to the regions of the dead, from whence it is sent back to inhabit some other body ; and, after successive transmigrations, it returns to its eternal Source—to God himself. It is the doctrine of Egypt and of India. The college at Crotona, where this philosophy was taught, by Pythagoras, consisted of about six hundred persons. The candidates for admission were

strictly examined by the master, and introduced to a new mode of life, in which they were entirely subjugated to his will. He restricted their diet, both for the sake of health, and as symbolical of moral truths. It is probable that, after the Spartan custom, they took their ordinary meals together. The Three Hundred, who were received into the higher, or esoteric school—in which the profoundest secrets of politics, philosophy, and religion were unfolded, were bound to each other, and to Pythagoras, by a solemn oath. They were driven out of Italy by their political enemies; but their doctrines were taught, with more or less variation, by numerous philosophers, whose names were famous among the ancients. Their secrets are said to have been divulged, contrary to the oath taken by every member of the society, by PHILOLAUS.

593. The philosophy of SOCRATES was rather practical than speculative, and was more remarkable for the "method" he introduced, than for any approach to a systematic arrangement of truths. His object was to free men from injurious prejudices, and to teach them the path to happiness by correcting their vices, and animating them with the love of virtue. In the Lyceum, a grove on the banks of the Illyssus, or in any place of public resort, his disciples gathered round him; he, at one time, delivered a formal discourse, or, at another, entered into a familiar conversation with a single person. In his conversation, he gained the assent of the other party to some plain truth, and gradually led him on to some conclusion which, at the outset, he could not have foreseen. Though rich in learning, it was his habitual acknowledgment,—“I only know that I know nothing.” His object was, not to deny the certainty of human knowledge on practical and moral subjects, but to rebuke the arrogance of pretenders to universal knowledge, by whom he was surrounded. In the beautiful language of Cicero, “He was the first that brought philosophy from heaven to earth, and brought her to the public walks and homes of men, that she might instruct them in the art of living.” He left no writing behind him. It is to his memoirs, by his illustrious disciple, Xenophon, that we are indebted for our knowledge of his principles and of his character, in the conversations and sketches which that writer has drawn out with the beautiful simplicity by which

his writings are distinguished. From these conversations we learn, that he conceived of God as one who is made manifest in his works; attending at once to all the affairs of the universe: who sees all things, hears all things, is everywhere present, and constantly superintends all things; who disposes and directs the universe; who is the source of all that is fair or good; who, amidst successive changes, preserves the course of nature unimpaired; and to whose laws all beings are subject. He admitted the existence of beings inferior to God, and superior to men; who were to be acknowledged and revered as the guardians of the world. He taught that the soul of man is of a nature similar to God, capable of knowing and loving him, of avoiding evil, and of acquiring wisdom; and that when it leaves the body, it returns to heaven, to enjoy, after death, the fruits of virtue in an immortal life. On these principles, respecting Divine Providence and human immortality, he raised an elegant structure of moral truth. He regarded the true *good* as consisting, not in the enjoyments of this life, but in the wisdom which improves the mind. This wisdom included justice and every virtue; and from the discipline of virtue arose the highest pleasures. To true wisdom it belonged, that men should not pretend to know what they could not know; that they should prefer the beauty of the soul to the beauty of the body; and that they should consider virtue as the only true wisdom, and the parent of tranquillity. He taught that obedience to Divine precepts is the best worship, but that men should conform to the external religion of their country. Many of his instructions relate to friendship, patriotism, private manners, agriculture, riches, and poverty—the relations of domestic life, and the public duties of citizens.

594. The Genius, or *Dæmon*, to which Socrates ascribed many of his thoughts and actions, has puzzled all the learned. To his disciples, who asked him to explain what it meant, he gave no answer; and all has been left to conjecture. It is wiser to confess our ignorance than to give any decided opinion on the subject. Socrates, his followers, and the Alexandrian Platonists, believed that it was a superhuman being that attended him. Some of the ancient fathers of the church suspected that it was an evil spirit. Not a few suppose that the expression

means no more than the very eminent degree in which Socrates was endowed with certain faculties which were weaker in other men.

595. "The man whose life I have written," says Xenophon, "was so pious, that he undertook nothing without asking counsel of the gods; so just, that he never did the smallest injury to any one, but rendered essential services to many; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; and so wise, that he was able, even in the most difficult cases, without advice, to judge what was expedient and right. He was eminently qualified to assist others by his counsel; to penetrate into men's characters; to reprehend them for their vices; and to excite them to the practice of virtue. Having found all these excellences in Socrates, I have ever esteemed him the most virtuous and the happiest of men." While the character and the principles of Socrates have been unduly exalted—and this sometimes for the purpose of undervaluing the necessity and the authority of the Christian religion—there is no reason why Christians should not render to them all the admiration they deserve. As a teacher of men, it is the testimony of history, that Socrates excelled all who had preceded him in Greece, both in the ingenuity of his method, and in the practical soundness of his instructions; and those who knew him best speak most highly of his personal character. It is interesting to see how much truth a sincere inquirer might attain, and to what heights of virtue an honest mind could reach; but it is childish in the extreme to deny that, after all, Socrates had but imperfect notions of the character of God, of the relations of man, of the way to happiness, and of the world to come; and we should remember, that his real character—which, according to his own principles, could be known only to God—has never been placed before us. Let the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon be compared with the New Testament, and who does not at once perceive the infinite inferiority, in the most essential matters, of the Athenian philosopher to the teachers of the gospel? With Him who is the theme of the gospel, Socrates has been compared with more irreverence than good taste.

596. We need not despise the wisdom of Socrates, nor reject the beautiful character of him which has been drawn by the exquisite taste of his biographer, while we profess

that we read the Gospels with feelings of a totally different nature,—rejoicing that in them, we are taught the saving truths which Socrates, with all his wisdom, knew not, and are made familiar with a character of which neither Socrates nor Xenophon could have conceived. His death has been too frequently held forth as that of a martyr to truth, philosophy, and religion. We are persuaded that this is a narrow and incorrect view to take of the causes of his death. The subject has been amply discussed by able writers in Germany and in England, within the last few years. Under a government like that of the Athenians, and in such a corrupt state of society as that which prevailed in the age of Socrates, after the close of the Peloponnesian war, it is easy to believe that any man who distinguished himself above his fellow-citizens by any qualities whatever, would excite against himself the envy, jealousy, and hatred of the mean, the selfish, and the frivolous. Such was the prevailing character of the Athenians, during the reign of the Thirty Tyrants. The opposition of Socrates to the vaunting sophists—the pretended wise men of his day, who confounded truth and falsehood, and right and wrong, was expressed with the utmost freedom. With not less freedom did he attack the comic poets, the popular political leaders, the priests, and the Tyrants. But the fact has been overlooked, that Socrates exposed the vices of the Athenian people: he spoke with contempt of their inconstancy, and, with bitter sarcasm, of fullers, shoe-makers, carpenters, smiths, tent-makers, peasants, and merchants, voting on questions of justice or policy, and in the choice of magistrates in their assembly. For many years, there were various causes to prevent the hatred of the Athenians, on all these accounts, from gratifying itself by his destruction. Before the banishment of Alcibiades, he enjoyed the protection of that powerful leader. The Peloponnesian war occupied the anxious thoughts of the Athenians for seven-and-twenty years. During the tyranny of the Thirty, the friends of Socrates were numerous and powerful enough to shield him from the Tyrants; and his enemies were themselves kept down by the strong arm of the new government. But, when the Peloponnesian war ended so calamitously for the Athenians, and the government of the Thirty was overthrown, and the citizens of Athens were exulting in

the recovery of their independence, the teacher of Alcibiades, to whose impieties they ascribed their misfortunes, and of Critias, one of the most active of the Tyrants, was exposed to the full force of their revenge. That he was tried—not by the Areopagus, but by the Heliastæ; a court chosen from the body of the people—seems to have been proved. His accusers were Anytus, one of his personal enemies; Miletus, a young and disappointed poet, whose verses Socrates had ridiculed; and Ryon, one of the Ten Orators, whose duty it was to advise the people to maintain justice, and whose corruption Socrates had exposed. His actual condemnation, by a majority of five or six votes in five hundred and fifty-six, or five hundred and fifty-nine, is a proof that it was not easy to secure his destruction. He might have been acquitted, if he had not offended a large number of his judges by his pride, not only in his ordinary expressions of contempt towards the people, but in his language and demeanour towards his judges. The particular place which belongs to him, in distinction from those who preceded and from those who followed him, as philosophers, cannot be very easily determined. In one view, his philosophy was the result of what had been taught before, in passing through his mind. In another view, it was the parent philosophy of all the subsequent systems.

597. Among the followers of Socrates, we have already had occasion to mention Æschines. Though born in poverty, he came to Socrates for instruction. When he came to the philosopher, he said:—"Others, Socrates, bring thee presents: all I have to offer is—myself." The master replied, that he accepted the gift, that he valued it, and that he hoped that by culture he might increase its worth. After spending twenty years in Athens, Æschines followed Plato and Aristippus to the court of Dionysius in Sicily; and, on his return to Athens, after the expulsion of Dionysius, he became first a private teacher, and then a public orator.

598. Aristippus, a wealthy disciple of Socrates, founded a school of philosophy in Athens, which, from the name of his native city in Africa, was called the *Cyrenian* school. He was more a wit than a philosopher; and both his principles and his practice encouraged the indulgence of pleasure, and undermined the foundation of morals. After hi

death, his doctrines were taught by his daughter Arete, who inherited all the learning and ingenuity of her father. The sect was soon absorbed in that of Epicurus.

599. Among the disciples of Socrates, was Euclid (not the mathematician,) of Megara, who founded a new school of philosophy in his native city, in which his object was to teach the art of disputation. Being asked his opinion respecting the gods, he replied: "I know no more of them than this—that they *hate* inquisitive persons."

600. The schools of Phædon, of Elis, and of Menedemus, in Eretria, adhered to the doctrines and precepts of Socrates. The most illustrious of the disciples of Socrates was PLATO; he is said to have been a descendant of Codrus, and, on his mother's side, of Solon. He was born in the island of Ægina, after it became subject to the Athenians: in his youth he excelled in painting and in poetry; but at the age of twenty he was so captivated by the eloquence of Socrates, that he gave up all other studies to attend his instructions in philosophy: for eight years, he continued this course. When Socrates appeared before his judges, Plato began, in his defence, a speech which he was not allowed to finish. He offered Socrates money after his condemnation, to redeem his life, which the master refused to accept. In the prison he heard Socrates declare his views of immortality, which Plato afterwards mingled with his own opinions, in the beautiful dialogue on that subject entitled "Phædon."

601. After the death of Socrates, he retired to Megara, where he studied the art of disputation under Euclid. From thence he travelled into Magna Græcia, where he was instructed by Philolaus in the secrets of the Pythagorean system. He then studied mathematics with Theodorus of Cyrene; and astronomy, in Egypt. Returning to Italy, he visited Sicily, and then settled at Athens, as the founder of a new school for instructing youth in philosophy. The place of his instruction was a small garden in the Academy: over the door was this inscription—"Let no one, who is not a *geometrician*, enter." He inherited the esteem formerly enjoyed by Socrates: the fame of his learning, and of his wisdom acquired by travel, allured young men from all quarters; among whom were Dion, the prince of Syracuse; and the orators, Hyperides, Lycourus, Isocrates,

and Demosthenes. It has been remarked, that Xenophon never mentions Plato, and Plato never mentions Xenophon. Plato was invited by the states of Arcadia, Thebes, Elis, and other parts of Greece, to help in modelling their governments. Archelaus, king of Macedon, and Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, were among his friends. His first visit to Sicily, in his fortieth year, during the reign of the elder Dionysius, was for the purpose of surveying the island, particularly the volcano of Mount Etna. While residing at Syracuse, he was engaged to instruct Dion, the brother-in-law of Dionysius, whom he imbued with the love of wisdom and virtue. By means of his pupil, Plato had an interview with Dionysius; but the tyrant was so displeased with the philosopher, that he dismissed him in anger. Plato escaped from Sicily in the vessel of a Spartan ambassador returning to Greece. The Spartan sold Plato at Ægina, then at war with Athens; but he was redeemed, and sent home to Athens, by Anicerris, a Cyrenaic philosopher, then on a visit to that island.

602. Dionysius, ashamed of his conduct, wrote to Plato, earnestly entreating him to return to Syracuse; but Plato replied, that "philosophy allowed him no leisure to think of Dionysius." Dion, however, had so deeply interested the younger Dionysius with the doctrines of his teacher, that letters were sent not only from Dion and from the tyrant, but from numerous philosophers residing in Sicily, beseeching Plato to come and superintend the education of the young prince.

603. With these wishes Plato complied, and he was received with public honours. Not long after his arrival, however, Dion was banished. Plato was soon after sent home to Athens, on the breaking out of a war, with a promise from Dionysius, that both he and Dion should be recalled at the return of peace. At Athens, Dion profited by the instructions of Plato. Dionysius, in the meanwhile, filled his court with philosophers from all quarters, and again requested the return of Plato. The philosopher declined, reminding Dionysius of the breach of his promise to recall Dion: nevertheless, he was prevailed on to accept the invitation, when it was seconded by the entreaties of the wife and the sister of Dion, of Archytas of Tarentum, and of other philosophers, to whom Dionysius had given

a pledge that his promises should be fulfilled. Plato's third visit to Syracuse, at the age of seventy, was not less welcome to the Sicilians than to their ruler.

604. While Aristippus was revelling in luxury, Diogenes indulging his spleen, and Æschines heaping up riches, Plato maintained the dignity of his character in a manner which his friends ascribed to wisdom, and his enemies to pride. Great as his influence was, however, he failed in persuading Dionysius to recall Dion, or to adopt his own plans of government. Mutual suspicion arose between the tyrant and the philosopher. Plato at length returned to Greece. On his way to Athens, in one of his returns from Syracuse, he passed through Elis, at the time of the celebration of the Olympic Games. He lodged there with some strangers, who were delighted with his conversation on ordinary matters, without even alluding to Socrates or the Academy, or making himself known, further than that his name was Plato, and inviting them to reside with him, when they might visit Athens. They followed him to Athens soon after the festival was over. On their arrival in the city, they begged that he would introduce them to the great man bearing the same name with himself, of whom they had heard as the disciple of Socrates, and the teacher of philosophy. He smiled, and told them that he was himself the man to whom they wished to be introduced.

605. Several anecdotes are related in proof of the mildness of his disposition, and his control of himself. One day, as he was raising his hand to correct his servant for some fault, feeling himself angry, he kept his arm fixed, and said to a friend coming in, who asked what he was doing, "I am punishing a passionate man."

606. To one of his slaves he said, "If I were not angry, I would chastise you."

607. Being told that his enemies were circulating evil reports of him, he said: "I will so live that no one will believe them."

608. One day, walking near the city with some friends, he met Timotheus, the great Athenian general, who had just returned from glorious victories, and was enjoying the unbounded admiration of his fellow-citizens. The conqueror was so struck with the truth and beauty of the

philosopher's discourse, that he exclaimed : " Oh happy life—true felicity."

609. His polished wit was employed, not in avenging himself, but in supporting his friends, or in defending truth. Timon, the misanthropist, often attacked him, but he left him alone. Even the cynical speeches of Diogenes were answered only by pleasantries. At a feast given by Plato at Syracuse, to the friends of Dionysius, Diogenes trampled the rich purple carpet with his soiled feet, saying, " I trample pride under my feet." " Yes," said Plato, smiling ; " and with greater pride of thine own."

610. One day Diogenes was exposing himself to a severe storm, and many of the people were regarding him with pity. " If you have any compassion for him, look at him no longer," said Plato, despising the vain-glory of the man.

611. The last years of Plato's life were spent in the instruction of young men ; and he died in his seventy-ninth or eighty-first year. He was buried in the garden in which he had taught.—Statues and altars adorned his memory.—His birthday was celebrated as a festival.—His portrait was carved on gems.—His *Dialogues* are remarkable for their engaging form, their lively dramatic character, their singularly musical language, and the wide view which they give of the opinions of all the philosophers that had gone before. His ideas are grand, many of them new, or enunciated for the first time in a clear and intelligible manner. Though Socrates is generally introduced as one of the speakers in most of these *Dialogues*, it must not be inferred from this, that the opinions really entertained by Socrates are always expressed under his name.

612. The philosophy of Plato is built upon the distinction between the objects of sense, and the objects of thought. Rejecting the notion, that either pleasure or knowledge is the chief good of man, he shows that human happiness consists in moral virtue, or the control of the appetites, by the will, in obedience to the dictates of reason. These views of individual happiness he applied to the state :—in which the reason is represented by philosophical rulers ;—the will by the executive force, or the army ; and the appetites by the populace and craftsmen. His political principles

leaned towards an oligarchy, or an aristocracy. To the Athenian democracy he appears to have entertained a marked dislike. His physical philosophy was an improvement on previous systems; but it has been discarded for the more exact principles and discoveries of modern times. His writings had great influence on the opinions of the philosophical Christians in the early ages of the church. His works have been translated into English by Taylor.

613. Much controversy formerly existed on the question, whether Plato derived any of his opinions from the sacred writings of the Hebrews? but it is now generally acknowledged that this is not likely. There is much interest in seeing how far the most comprehensive of human minds, enriched with the fruits of previous studies, could advance towards the attainment of truth on the most important questions. That Plato advanced very far in this direction cannot be doubted: yet, when we see his imperfect notions on subjects in natural science, which have become familiar to modern Europe, we cannot but be thankful for the more safe and sure methods of studying nature which are now adopted. In relation to God, immortality, and human happiness, the comparison of the New Testament with the writings of Plato will afford the highest proof of the inspiration of the apostles; and will illustrate the profound sentence of Saint Paul, addressed to the inhabitants of the proud Grecian city—"Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.—The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned," 1 Cor. i. 20, 21; ii. 14.

614. The school founded by Plato, at Athens, was conducted after his death by his nephew Speusippus. He required a stated payment from his pupils, and, being of weak health, he usually went to the Academy in a carriage. On such facts has been grounded the charge of effeminacy and avarice. It is said that one day he passed Diogenes, and saluted him. That surly philosopher refused to acknowledge his courtesy, saying: "Such a feeble wretch as

you ought to be ashamed to live." "I live," replied Speusippus, "not in my limbs, but in my mind." After eight years, he resigned the chair to Xenocrates of Chalcedon, a man of slow mind and severe manners, but strongly attached to Plato. So confident were the Athenians of his integrity, that the judges paid him the compliment to take his word in a transaction in which other men were put upon their oath. He was the only Athenian whom Philip of Macedon could not bribe. As a beautiful proof of his humanity, it is related, that a sparrow, pursued by a hawk, flew into his bosom: he sheltered it till the hawk was out of sight, and then let it escape, saying—that he would never betray a *suppliant*. In his philosophy, he taught the doctrines of Plato in the language of Pythagoras. His successor was Polemon, an Athenian, who had spent his youth in vicious pleasures. Returning home at sunrise, from a night of revel, in a loose robe, crowned with garlands, and intoxicated with wine, his path lay by the school of Xenocrates. To gratify his love of sport, he entered without ceremony, and took his place among the philosophers. The whole company, except the master, showed visible signs of resentment at this indecent intrusion. Xenocrates maintained his calmness, and gracefully turning his discourse on temperance and modesty, convinced Polemon of his folly. From that time he changed his course. He went into the opposite extreme, and passed his time in solitude and abstinence, rigidly adhering to the philosophy of Plato. He was closely attached to Crates, an Athenian of kindred disposition and habits, and they were buried in the same grave.

615. Crantor, a disciple of Xenocrates, and also of Crates, was the first writer of commentaries on the works of Plato, and the last teacher of the old Academy. His *Discourse on Grief* is called by Cicero "a small, but golden piece, adapted to heal the wounds of the mind, not by encouraging stoical insensibility, but by suggesting arguments drawn from the purest fountains of philosophy."

616. The Middle Academy at Athens was founded, after the death of Crates, by a class of teachers who introduced some new methods of philosophizing into the school of Plato. Of these, the first was Arcesilaus of Elis, a friend of Crantor. His manners were fascinating, yet not worthy of his profession: but he attracted numerous followers by

his learning, eloquence, and liberality. When one of his pupils expressed his preference for Hieronymus, a rival teacher, he took him by the hand, and introduced him to Hieronymus with warm commendations. Visiting a sick friend, whom he found to be poor as well as sick, he secretly left a purse of gold under his pillow. When the attendant found it, the invalid said, with a smile: "This is one of the generous frauds of Arcessilaus."

617. The leading feature of his philosophy was, that, though we have probable truth enough to guide us in the affairs of life, we have no right to make positive assertions in matters of speculation. The opposition to this doctrine, by both philosophers and statesmen, was so great, that Carneades, one of the successors of Arcessilaus, founded the New Academy. He was a native of Cyrene, in Africa. He is represented by Cicero as having been a disciple of Diogenes; he succeeded Egesinas, one of the followers of Arcessilaus, as the head of the academy at Athens. It will be recollected that he has been mentioned as accompanying Diogenes and Critolaus in an embassy from Athens to Rome. During that visit he gained much applause from the Romans, by the refinement of his reasoning, and the rapidity and vehemence of his speech. He was a strenuous opponent of Chrysippus the stoic; yet he often said, "If there were no Chrysippus, there would be no Carneades." We may be excused for not giving a clear account of his doctrines, since Clitomachus, who immediately succeeded him in the Academy, acknowledged that he could never find out what they were.

618. Clitomachus was a Carthaginian, who from his youth studied philosophy with much industry under Carneades, and, after his master's death, filled the same chair for thirty years. According to Cicero, he taught that there is no certain criterion for judging of the report of our senses, and, therefore, that a wise man will either wholly suspend his assent, or decline giving a positive opinion; but, at the same time, that men are urged by Nature to follow probability. In morals, he taught that there was a natural connexion between virtue and pleasure.

619. The successor of Clitomachus was Philo of Larissa, whose lectures at Rome, during the Mithridatic war, were attended by Cicero. The last head of this school in

Greece was Antiochus of Ascalon, who aimed at reconciling the tenets of the several Grecian sects. After his time, the school was transferred from Athens to Rome.

620. Aristotle, the founder of the *Peripatetic* school, was born (B. C. 384) at Stagira, on the borders of the Strymon, in Thrace. Having received the elements of learning from Proxenus, of Atarnæ, in Mysia, he became, in his seventeenth year, a disciple of Plato, and continued his attendance for twenty years. After Plato's death, he raised an altar to his memory. Being dissatisfied with the appointment of Speusippus to the chair of Plato, he removed, first to Atarnæ; then, after spending three years with Hermius, the king of that place, whose sister he married, he spent two years at Mitylene. The occasion of his leaving Mitylene was a letter from Philip of Macedon, inviting him to be the teacher of his son Alexander. When the royal pupil was in his fifteenth year, Aristotle repaired to the Macedonian court, where he enjoyed the confidence of Philip and Olympias, and secured the affection and gratitude of Alexander. By his influence at court, his native town, which had gone into decay, was rebuilt, and its people were restored to their ancient privileges.

621. When Alexander went to the east, Aristotle returned to Athens. The conqueror employed many thousands of persons in collecting birds, beasts, and fishes, for Aristotle, in several parts of Europe and Asia. On arriving at Athens, Aristotle found Xenocrates presiding in the academy. He resolved to found a new sect in philosophy, and chose the Lyceum, on the banks of the Illyssus, near Athens, as the place of resort. In his morning walk, he taught his secret doctrines, after the example of Pythagoras and the Egyptians; in his evening walk, he discoursed more openly on logic, rhetoric, and politics. For twelve years, he continued this school, protected by the name of Alexander. After Alexander's death, however, the opposition to him on the part of philosophers and priests was so great, that he left Athens, saying to his friends, "I shall not give the Athenians an opportunity of committing a second offence against philosophy." He retired to Chalcis, where he died at the age of sixty-three. His ashes were conveyed to Stagyra, where an altar and a tomb were dedicated to his memory. After the death of Pythias, his first wife, he had married

Herculis of Stagyra, the sister of Hernias. By Pythias he had a son Nicomachus, the same to whom he addressed his work entitled, "*Greater Morals*." Aristotle is described by Cicero as of slender person, infirm in health, with small eyes, and a shrill voice. He paid great attention to the elegance of his dress and appearance. Of his character it would be difficult to form a fair judgment. He was a philosophical courtier, and a courtly philosopher. In philosophy he was fond of innovation, contradicting all who had gone before him: in morals he conformed to the manners of his age. His learning was profound. Most of his writings are lost. Those which remain are hard to understand; not only from the abstruseness of their subjects, but from the obscurity of his language. By those who master these difficulties, his works will ever be esteemed as the productions of a sublime and penetrating genius. He regarded God as the First Mover of all things; but he seems to have had no notion of his creating power, his omnipresence, and his universal government. The soul was regarded by him as the principle of life; but there is no reason to suppose that he believed it to be immortal. In common with Plato and his followers, he taught that a life of virtue is a source of pleasure. By virtue he meant the mean between extremes, prescribed by wisdom and prudence: such as fortitude, between timidity and rashness; temperance, between excess and neglect of pleasure; magnificence, between extravagance and parsimony; moderation, between ambition and contempt of greatness; gentleness, between anger and insensibility; affability, between moroseness and servility; simplicity, between arrogance and the artful concealment of faults; urbanity, between rusticity and scurrility; modesty between impudence and bashfulness. It ought not to be omitted, that whatever value there may be in the study of his writings, they are complained of as containing the philosophy of words rather than of things, and as perplexing the understanding with subtle distinctions, rather than enlightening it with real knowledge.

622. His successor at the Lyceum was Theophrastus of Eresium, on the sea-coast of Lesbos, from a very early age a disciple of Plato, and then of Aristotle. He had at one time two thousand scholars, among whom were Nico-

machus, Aristotle's son, and Demetrius Phalerus, who lived in his house. Cassander was attracted by his eloquence; and Ptolemy invited him to Egypt. He was one of the philosophers who, for a short time, were banished from Athens. Twice he freed his country from the oppression of tyrants. Like Aristotle, he was attentive to the elegance of his dress; and he carefully studied the graces of public speaking. In philosophy he thought for himself, and differed, at least in his modes of expression, from Aristotle. Some beautiful moral sayings are ascribed to him, most of which have been mingled with the most familiar observations: "Respect yourself, and you will never have reason to be ashamed before others.—Love is the passion of an indolent mind.—Blushing is the complexion of virtue."

623. His successor was Strabo, of Lampsacus—the preceptor of Ptolemy Philadelphus—who presided in the Lyceum for eighteen years. He differed from both Plato and Aristotle, in his doctrine respecting matter. His notion was, that matter has an innate force; that the soul is in the middle of the brain; and that it acts only by means of the senses. Lycon of Troas, who enjoyed the friendship of Attalus and of Eumenes, succeeded Strabo; and he was followed by Aristo, Critolaus, and Diodorus. Demetrius Phalerus, the disciple of Theophrastus, was appointed governor of Athens by Cassander, king of Macedon. Having governed with great wisdom and popularity for ten years, he was condemned by the Athenians, in his absence, to death. From their rage he found shelter at the court of Ptolemy Soter. He put an end to his life in Egypt, by the bite of an asp. All his works are lost.

624. The *Cynic school* was founded by Antisthenes, the Athenian, who had fought at the battle of Tanagra. His first lessons in rhetoric were from Gorgias, the Sicilian. Afterwards he went daily from the Piræus, to attend the instructions of Socrates, to whom he was attracted chiefly by the noble consistency of his mind. His severity of manners was shown by his appearance in a threadbare and ragged cloak. When Socrates observed, that he exposed the poverty of his dress, he said to him, "Why so ostentatious? Through your rags I see your vanity." He chose

for his school the Cynosarges, or Temple of the White Dog, from which the name of the sect has been derived. He was morose, rugged, gloomy, a trouble to his friends, and an object of ridicule to his enemies. Aiming not at speculative instruction, but at the removal of luxury, avarice, and ambition, he appeared more as an example of rigid virtue, than as a teacher of a philosophic system. With a coarse cloak, a neglected beard, and a beggar's wallet, he lived on the simplest fare, renounced the pursuits of science, and despised the gods and the religion of the Greeks. In his last sickness he became fretful, tired of his life, yet afraid to die. Diogenes asked him, "Do you need a friend?" "Where is the friend that can free me from my pain?" Diogenes, handing a dagger to him, said, "Let this free you." To which he answered, "I wish to be freed from my pain—not from my life."

625. The sentiments of Antisthenes may be gathered from the following sentences which Diogenes of Laerte and Stobæus, two ancient writers, have preserved:—"Virtue alone is sufficient for a happy life.—Virtue consists in a steady course of right acting.—Virtue and wisdom are one.—The love of pleasure is a temporary madness.—As rust consumes iron, so does envy the heart of man.—That State hastens to ruin in which no difference is made between good and bad men.—A philosopher gains from his manner of life, at least one thing,—the power of conversing with himself.—The most necessary part of learning is, to unlearn our errors.—The man who is afraid of another, whatever he may think of himself, is a slave." When some one told him that a bad man had been praising him, he said, "What foolish thing have I been doing?"

626. Antisthenes has been less celebrated than his disciple DIOGENES, a native of Sinope in Pontus. His father being banished from his country, Diogenes visited Athens, and offered himself as a pupil to Antisthenes. The philosopher, being in a bad humour, refused him peevishly; and seeing him importunate, raised up his staff to drive him away. "Beat me as you like," said Diogenes, "I *will* be your scholar." He was received, not as a scholar only, but as a friend. Entering fully into the principles of his master, he wandered about from one place to another, without a home, and living on the casual gifts of friends:

The story of his tub rests on no solid foundation. To carry out the design of his party, he inveighed against the manners of the great with the utmost freedom and sternness, yet with a pungency of wit which excited the admiration of those who pitied, scorned, or feared him. Sailing to the island of Ægina, he was taken by pirates, and sold as a slave at the public market in Crete. Being asked by the salesman, "What can you do?" he answered, "I can govern men; sell me to one who wants a master." Xenia-des, a rich Corinthian, struck with this strange answer, bought him. When he was delivered to him, he said, "I shall be more useful to you as your physician than as your slave." When they reached Corinth, Xenia-des gave him his freedom, and intrusted to him the training of his children, and the management of his house. During his abode at Corinth, he attended the *Cranæum*, or public school, and the Isthmian games, lashing the follies of the Greeks, and urging the lessons of virtue. Plutarch relates a story which, though inconsistent in some slight particulars, is probably well founded. At a general assembly of the Greeks at Corinth, Alexander the Great received the congratulations of all ranks on being appointed to succeed his father as the commander of the Grecian army in the expedition against Persia. The young prince, who knew something of Diogenes, expressed surprise that, while other philosophers were ready to pay him respect, Diogenes, who lived at Corinth, had not appeared. Curious to see so haughty a being, he went to the *Cranæum*, where he saw the Cynic sitting in his tub, enjoying the sunshine. Surrounded by a crowd of attendants, the prince came up to him, saying, "I am Alexander the Great." The philosopher surlily replied, "And I am Diogenes the Cynic." "Is there any service," said the king, "that I can render you?" "Yes, stand not between me and the sun." Struck with the grandeur of the reply, Alexander said to his friends, who were laughing at the Cynic, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." Rejecting the tales reported, if not invented, by writers whose object was to ridicule all philosophers, we seem warranted, by the most ancient authorities, in describing Diogenes, with all the haughtiness that may be fairly laid to his charge, as a man of strong mind, well acquainted with human nature, severe in the govern-

ment of his own appetites and passions, and honestly bent on improving the character of his fellow-countrymen. Xeniodas was wont to say, that the gods had sent a good genius to his house; and his sons treated their teacher with the deepest respect. The most eminent philosophers spoke of him as a man endued with Divine wisdom.

627. The magistrates of Athens honoured Diogenes with a public funeral, and raised a column of Parian marble, surmounted with the figure of a dog, over his tomb; while many brazen statues to his memory were erected by his friends. Among the sayings ascribed to him are these: Some one asked him, "In what part of Greece have you seen good men?" "Nowhere;—at Sparta, I have seen good *boys*."—A friend advising him to indulge himself in his old age, he said, "Would you have me quit the race when I have almost reached the goal?"—Seeing a boy drink water from the hollow of his hand, he threw his cup away, saying, "I will carry no superfluities about with me."—Some one asked him, "At what time ought I to die?" "If you are rich, when you will—if poor, when you can." Plato speaking of the abstract idea of a table and a cup, Diogenes said, "I see the table and the cup, but not the idea." "No wonder," replied Plato, "for you have eyes, but no intellect."—When asked what countryman he was, he said, "A citizen of the world."—To a man reviling him, he said, "No one will believe you when you speak ill of me, any more than they would believe me if I were to speak well of you." "Virtue of mind, like strength of body, is to be acquired chiefly by exercise and habit.—Nothing can be accomplished without labour, and everything may be accomplished with it.—Even the contempt of pleasure may, by the force of habit, become pleasant.—Would you be revenged on your enemy, be virtuous, that he may have nothing to say against you."

628. Among the followers of Diogenes were Onesicritus of Ægina, Monimus of Syracuse, and Crates of Thebes. Crates was a man of ancient family and of great wealth, who distributed his property among the poorer citizens of Thebes, and went to Athens, where he adopted all the peculiarities of Diogenes. Being, unlike his master, of a

cheerful and facetious temper, he drew towards him many of the principal Athenians, and, by his private influence in their families, quelled many of their disputes, and greatly corrected their luxuries and vices. He married Hipparchia, a lady of a rich and honourable family, who entered fully into the spirit of her husband's philosophy. Her brother Metrocles, who had been a disciple of Theophrastus and of Xenocrates, joined the Cynics, and burned the writings of his former masters. He became so sick of the world in his old age, that he strangled himself.

629. In the reign of Antigonus of Macedon the spirit of the Cynics appeared in its utmost extravagance. Menecleus of Lampsacus went about like a maniac—which probably he really was—with a long beard, and a staff in his hand, wrapped in a black cloak, with the figures of the twelve signs of the zodiac on his cap, declaring that he was an infernal spirit, sent to admonish the world.

630. The sect of the Stoics united the morals of the Cynics with a system of speculative philosophy. Its founder was ZENO, the son of a merchant at Citius, a seaport town in Cyprus. Having read the books procured for him by his father in his commercial voyages to Athens, he repaired to that city in his thirtieth year. Going into the shop of a bookseller, he asked where he could meet with such men as the authors of the writings he admired. The bookseller pointed to Crates, then passing by, and said: "Follow that man."

631. Though he attached himself to the Cynic, he disliked the manners of the party, and attended other masters. Crates disapproved of his going to other schools, and attempted to drag him away from one of them by force. "You may seize my body," said Zeno, "but Stilpo has laid hold of my mind."

632. After attending most of the schools of philosophy in Athens, he opened a new school in the *Stoa Poecile*, or Painted Portico, and hence arose the name Stoics. By the subtlety of his reasonings, and the morality of his character, he won numerous followers, and general admiration. Antigonus Gonatas, of Macedon, attended his lectures, and invited him to his court. The Athenians deposited in his hands the keys of

their citadel, presented him with a crown of gold, and honoured him with a brazen statue. With a feeble constitution, he preserved his health by temperance. A contraction of the brow gave an appearance of severity to his tall and slender figure; while he was plain in his dress, frugal in his expenses, simple in all his habits, and modest in his general behaviour, he did not escape the enmity of other sects. At the age of ninety-eight, he broke one of his fingers by a fall, when coming out of his school. Striking the earth, he cried, "Why am I thus importuned; I obey thy summons;" and, on reaching home, he strangled himself. At the request of Antigonus, king of Macedon, the Athenians raised a monument to his memory in the Cceranicus.

633. In the doctrines of the Stoics, God is no more than the necessary and efficient cause of motion in matter; Providence, the continuance of this agency in a necessary chain of causes and effects—in one word—Fate;—the universe, a sentient and animated being;—virtue, is living according to nature; happiness, which is the same as virtue, is in every man's own power; all virtues and vices are equally virtuous or vicious;—the passions must be subdued;—a wise man may withdraw from life whenever he judges it to be expedient;—a good man will do good without sympathy, and execute justice without pity. Many passages in the writings of the stoics are very brilliant and attractive; but the entire system rests on an incomplete view of nature, and ignorance of God, and can produce only an artificial and affected character. The most famous disciples of Zeno were Perscus, son of Demetrius; Aristo of Chios; Herillus of Carthage; and Iphærus of Boristhenes, who taught philosophy at Sparta, and had Cleomenes among his pupils.

634. After Zeno's death his school was conducted by Cleanthes, of Assus, in Lydia. His first appearance in Athens was as a wrestler; but he soon caught the spirit of philosophy pervading all classes of the Athenians. This man was remarkable for his industry, resolution, and perseverance. He was summoned, according to the law of Athens, before the court of Areopagus, to give some account of himself, as he had no visible means of obtaining an honest living, yet looked strong and healthy. He served a gardener, for whom he drew water in the night, that he might have leisure in

the day to attend the schools. The judges were so pleased, that they ordered ten minæ to be paid to him from the public treasury, which Zeno would not allow him to accept. He was so poor that, for want of paper, he wrote his notes of his master's lectures on bones and shells. For nineteen years he continued his attendance. He was so slow in his apprehension, that his associates called him an ass; he merely said, "If I be an ass, I am the better able to carry the burden of Zeno's doctrine." Though he wrote much, all that remains is a hymn, expressing sublime sentiments respecting God.

635. One of the most illustrious of the Stoic philosophers was Chrysippus, of Solis in Cilicia, son of Apollonius of Tarsus, the native city of St. Paul. He was a disciple of Cleanthes, but dissented from some of his opinions. He was eminent alike for acuteness and industry. His love of disputation was unbounded; and the practice of a long life gave him a confidence in his powers amounting to audacity. When a father asked him for advice in choosing a teacher for his son, he said, "Me; for if I thought any philosopher excelled me I should become his pupil." His doctrines were pantheistic, making the universe God. Of seven hundred books written by him, containing large extracts from other writers, only a few fragments have been preserved by Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and Aulus Gellius. He was eighty-three years old when he died. Ptolemy raised a statue to his memory.

636. Diogenes of Seleucia, near Babylon, the associate of Critolaus and Carneades in the embassy to Rome, which has been mentioned, was greatly respected as a leader of the Stoics. Seneca, in his treatise on Anger, says, that "as Diogenes was one day discoursing on anger, a foolish youth, hoping to raise a laugh against the philosopher by making him angry, spat in his face; upon which Diogenes meekly and prudently said, 'I am not angry; but I am in doubt whether I ought not to be so.'"

637. The last of the Greek Stoics was Posidonius, a Syrian, who taught at Rhodes, in the age of Pompey. On Pompey's return from the Syrian war, he visited Rhodes, that he might enjoy this philosopher's instructions. The Roman conqueror did homage to philosophy by lowering the fasces—emblem of the consular dignity—at the door.

Cicero attended the lectures of Posidonius, at Rome, to which city he was brought by Marcellus, in the year 52 B.C.

638. EPICURUS of Zargettus near Athens, was born in the year 344 B. C. When Pericles subdued the isle of Samos, a colony of two thousand Athenians were sent to divide the island among them by lot. Among these were Neocles and Chœrestrata, the father and mother of Epicurus, persons of honourable birth, but reduced to poverty. As his share of land in Samos was small, Neocles became a teacher, and his wife an enchantress. When Epicurus was young he composed songs for his mother's incantations. Having lived till his eighteenth year at Samos, and the adjacent isle of Teos, he went to Athens. Driven from Athens by the commotions which arose there on the death of Alexander, he joined his father at Colophon, and then removed to Mitylene for one year, and to Lampsacus for four years. At the age of thirty-six he returned to Athens, at the time when Xenocrates was master of the Academy, and Theophrastus of the Lyceum. He purchased a garden, in which he lived and taught his philosophy. As the Platonists were styled the Philosophers of the Academy—the Peripatetics, or Aristotelians, of the Lyceum,—the Cynics of the Cynosargus—the Stoics of the Porch, so the Epicureans were styled the Philosophers of the Garden. Over the entrance to the garden was this inscription: "The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find pleasure the highest good, will present you liberally with barley cakes, and water from the spring. These gardens will not provoke your appetite by artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not, then, be well entertained?" His object was to win the luxuriant Athenians to philosophy, by the hope of pleasure. He was exemplary in his character; temperate, chaste, gentle, cheerful, affable, yet intense in his studies; he attached his followers to himself, and to each other, by the strongest bonds of friendship. The closeness of his application weakened his constitution, and he was afflicted with the stone. On the approach of death, he bequeathed his garden, with its buildings, to his friend, Hermachus, for the benefit of future teachers of his philosophy. On the last day of his life,

at the age of seventy-three, he said, in a letter to Hermachus, that his disease had, for fourteen days, tortured him with inconceivable anguish; and he added, "but all this is counterbalanced by the satisfaction of mind which I derive from the recollection of my discourses and discoveries." Feeling himself exhausted, he requested to be put in a warm bath, where he died, exhorting his friends not to forget his doctrines. After his death, his followers celebrated his birthday as an annual festival. They preserved his likeness in rings, on cups, and in pictures; and so highly was his memory revered, that they committed to memory his maxims, and, some of them, the whole of his instructions.

639. The opposition of the Stoics raised reports against the character of Epicurus which have been propagated in every succeeding age; but it has often been proved, from the testimony of his enemies, that they are unjust and calumnious. His natural philosophy was an unsuccessful attempt to explain the appearances of Nature on mechanical principles; and it led to false notions of the Creator. His moral philosophy inculcated a prudent care of the body, and a steady government of the mind. By pleasure he meant happiness, secured by virtue. His doctrines were perverted by men who, under the pretence of pursuing pleasure, gave themselves up to vice.

640. The conquests of Alexander diffused the philosophy of Greece throughout the east, and gave it a new home in Alexandria, which emulated the fame of Athens.

641. "The philosophers of Greece deduced their morals from the nature of man, rather than from that of God. They meditated, however, on the Divine nature, as a very curious and important speculation, and in the profound inquiry they displayed the strength and weakness of the human understanding. Of the four most celebrated schools, the Stoics and the Platonists endeavoured to reconcile the jarring interests of reason and piety. They have left us the most sublime proofs of the existence and perfections of the First Cause; but as it was impossible for them to conceive the creation of matter, the workman in the Stoic philosophy was not sufficiently distinguished from the works; whilst, on the contrary, the spiritual god of Plato and his disciples

resembled an idea, rather than a substance. The opinions of the Academy and Epicureans were of a less religious cast; but whilst the modest science of the former induced them to doubt, the positive ignorance of the latter urged them to deny, the providence of a Supreme Ruler. The spirit of inquiry, prompted by emulation, and supported by freedom, had divided the public teachers of philosophy into a variety of contending sects; but the ingenious youth, who from every part resorted to Athens, and the other seats of learning in the Roman empire, were alike instructed, in every school, to reject and despise the religion of the multitude. How, indeed, was it possible that a philosopher should accept, as divine truths, the idle tales of the poets, and the incoherent traditions of antiquity; or that he should adore, as gods, those imperfect beings whom he must have despised as men? Against such unworthy adversaries Cicero condescended to employ the arms of reason and eloquence; but the satire of Lucian was a much more adequate, as well as a more efficient, weapon. We may be well assured that a writer conversant with the world, would never have ventured to expose the gods of his country to public ridicule, had they not already been the objects of secret contempt among the polished and enlightened orders of society.”*

* Gibbon, vol. i. chap. II. pp. 33, 34.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GREEKS.

Early successes of the gospel in Asia Minor—Progress of Christianity—Efforts of the apostle Paul and companions—First converts—Introduction of the gospel at Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Troas—Churches of Macedonia, Patmos, Smyrna, Thyatira, Pergamos, Sardis, Laodicea—Martyrdom of Publius—Hadrian—Defence of the Gospel—Clemency of Antoninus towards Christians—Justin—State of religion in succeeding years—Eusebius—John Chrysostom—His eminent learning and piety—Controversies—Appearance of the Paulicians—Constantine—His travels and formation of churches—Persecution—Revolt in Asia Minor—State of Greek church in the age of Constantine—Influence of the monks—Mohammed the Second—Election of George Scholaris as patriarch—Form of presentation to the Sultan—Policy of Mohammedanism—Selym the First—Importance of state authority—Ceremonies of the Greek Church—Difference of sentiment and church government, from the Latin Church—Influence of the patriarch—Inferior clergy—Habits of life—Grecian monasteries—Most celebrated—Convents of Mount Athos—Construction—Caloyers—Efforts of British and American Christians to revive religion in Greece—Greek Education Society—Distribution of Scriptures—Religious Tract Society.

642. THE New Testament was written in the Greek language, because it was at that time what Latin afterwards became, the principal means of communication throughout the civilized world. The earliest successes of the gospel were realized in Judæa, and in the province of Asia Minor. The inhabitants of the latter country, descendants from the ancient Grecian colonists, had been distinguished for their wealth and splendour, their learning, and their culture of the fine arts. It was at Troas, on the Asiatic continent, that the apostle Paul beheld the vision that induced him to cross the Ægean sea, and carry the gospel into Europe. He had previously visited Cyprus, accompanied by Barnabas, a native of that island. From Salamis in the east, to Paphos in the west, they traversed the whole island. Among their converts at Paphos was Sergius Paulus, the proconsul. Passing from Cyprus, in a northerly direction to Pamphylia, they skirted the borders of Phrygia, Isauria, Pisidia, and Lycaonia, preaching the gospel, and planting churches in several cities of those regions; they then returned to Antioch in Syria, from whence they had been sent out. Having separated from Barnabas and Mark, the apostle Paul accompanied by Silas travelled through the adjacent parts of Syria to Cilicia and Pisidia, and to some of the towns

in which he had preached in his former journey. At Lystra, he was joined by Timothy, and revisiting the churches he had founded, he came to Phrygia. We have no record of his labours in that populous province, which has been described by an ancient writer as containing more than sixty towns; but at Colosse a church was gathered, probably by Epaphras, one of the apostle's converts and fellow-labourers. After preaching and planting numerous churches in the province of Galatia, the apostle's plan appears to have been to travel through Asia Minor, and then to return in a northerly course to Mysia and Bithynia; but the vision of the "man of Macedonia" changed his course.

643. The history of Luke, who joined Paul at Troas, traces his progress to the island of Samothracia, opposite the Thracian coast, in the *Ægean* sea, and from thence to Neapolis, a sea-port in Macedonia, and thence to Philippi, "the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony."

644. Near to the city, on the banks of a stream, the proselytes to Judaism had a *proseucha*, or open place for prayer, to which devout women resorted. Lydia, and the jailor, and their families, are the only persons expressly mentioned as the firstfruits of the gospel in a city where one of the most flourishing of Christian churches rejoiced the apostle's heart. Leaving Luke and Timothy at Philippi, Paul and Silas passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, the scenes of transactions recorded in some parts of this history, and came to Thessalonica, about twenty miles north-west from Philippi, and the largest of the Macedonian cities. In the narrative of Luke (Acts xvii. 1—15), and in the two epistles addressed by Paul and Silvanus (Silas) and Timotheus to the church of the Thessalonians, we see how much they must have accomplished there in the short space of three or four weeks. Driven thence by the enmity of the unbelieving Jews, they withdrew to Berea, a town about ten miles west of Thessalonica. A tumult, raised by Thessalonian Jews, forced Paul soon to leave Silas and Timotheus at Berea, while he was accompanied by some of the converts of that town to Athens, the centre of the refinement of the world.

645. The previous chapter, on the schools of Grecian philosophy, will have prepared the reader to enter into the feelings with which the preacher of the gospel would be

regarded by the "philosophers of the Epicureans and the Stoics," who encountered him; and this, together with the magnificent idolatries around him, will serve to explain the strong language of the inspired historian where he says, "His spirit was stirred within him." Little as the success of the gospel was among the gay and sceptical Athenians, it was not altogether fruitless: there were those who believed, among whom were Diogenes, a member of the illustrious court of Arcopagus, and a woman named Damaris.

646. Travelling alone from Athens, the apostle proceeded to Corinth, which had once more risen to wealth and importance as the centre of traffic between the eastern and western divisions of the Roman empire, and which, for that reason, was a position of great consequence for the spreading of the gospel through the world. There Paul was assisted by Silas and Timothy, by Aquila and Priscilla. The chief ruler of the synagogue and many of the Corinthians believed, and the blessed effects of the gospel were diffused through the whole province of Achaia. After labouring thus for the space of two years, we find the apostle at Ephesus, the greatest commercial city of Asia Minor. During his abode in this city, he was earnestly engaged in the affairs of the Galatian and Corinthian churches, as well as in preaching and defending the gospel in Ephesus. From thence he returned to Troas, revisited the churches of Macedonia, received their generous contributions for the poor saints in Judæa, and then passed the winter in Achaia. Not fewer than twenty of the inspired Epistles of the New Testament relate to the churches thus called into the fellowship of the gospel, during these interesting journeys and sacred labours, the memory of which is thus perpetuated from age to age, and will endure for ever. It was on Asiatic Greece that the last light of inspiration fell. Thirty miles south-west of Samos, and twenty miles from the western coast of Asia Minor, is Patmos, one of the group of islands called the Sporades, a rocky isle, from twenty to thirty miles in circumference, with but few fertile spots. It is now inhabited by five or six hundred persons, chiefly under the influence of the monks. Here John beheld the visions, and heard the words, of his Revelation. His ordinary abode was at Ephesus, where he is said to have died,

after his return from Patmos. Ephesus, now a wretched village, contains a mosque, said to have been formerly a Christian church, and a miserable hovel for the few nominal Christians. Smyrna, fifty-six miles from Ephesus, still retains the shadow of her ancient glory, with a population of fifty thousand Mohammedans, and the same number of professed Christians, under the patriarch of Constantinople. Fifty miles north of Smyrna was Thyatira, the ancient Pelopia, now occupied by the modern town of Akhisson, with a degraded and ignorant population of five thousand Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. Forty miles from Thyatira stands Bergamo (Pergamos,) anciently the abode of the Attalidæ princes, and famed of old for its library of two hundred thousand books. At this day, the inhabitants include not more than a thousand, or fifteen hundred Greeks.

647. Sardis, once the capital of the Lydian monarchy, at the northern base of Mount Tmolus, is now represented by the village of Sardt, north of the ancient site, a village of not more than fifty mud cottages, chiefly inhabited by Turks. On a branch of Mount Tmolus, five and twenty or thirty miles from Sardis, is Philadelphia, the last Lydian city that submitted to the Moslems, and which has still nearly two hundred Greek families, with five or six churches, about twenty priests, and one bishop.

648. Laodicea, (one of six cities so called,) on the river Lycus near Colosse, is now buried by earthquakes, a lonely spot, the "the haunt of wolves and jackalls."

649. Not long before the time when the emperor Hadrian visited Athens, and was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, Publius, bishop of Athens, had suffered martyrdom; he was succeeded by Quadratus, who is praised by Eusebius for his zeal in gathering the scattered flock and reviving their faith. While Hadrian was in Greece, Quadratus presented to him a defence of the gospel. This defence was accompanied or followed by another from Aristides, a Christian, living at Athens. Near this time, according to Eusebius, Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, distinguished himself by his labours in that city, and by his epistles to distant churches: among which special mention is made of one to the Lacedæmonians; one to the Athenians, after the death of Publius; several to the churches in Crete,

and the churches in Pontus; and one to the church at Rome.

650. The appeals to Hadrian were not made in vain: Antoninus, his successor, wrote to the Ephesians, the La-rissicans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and to other Greeks, forbidding the public accusation of Christians on account of their religion. It is not unlikely that the wise and mild policy of the emperor was encouraged by the defence of Christians presented to him by Justin, a Grecian philosopher, who, having vainly searched for true wisdom in the schools of the Stoics, Pythagoreans, and Platonists, found it in the school of Christ, and died a martyr in the following reign.

651. We have but scanty materials for information respecting the state of Christianity in Greece for several ages. The churches of that country shared in the general persecutions under the heathen emperors, and afterwards in the external peace, and the decline of Paganism, introduced by Constantine the Great. They suffered, in common with other Christians, from the suppression of learning among them, and the general discouragements arising from the attempt of Julian to revive the ancient philosophy, and to restore the ancient religion, of Greece. They enjoyed the protection of Jovian, Julian's successor; and they were encouraged or opposed, according to the side they took in the Arian controversy, by Valens, who was the abettor of Arianism. In the fifth century, we find Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen, who became eminent Christian bishops, fellow-students with Julian at Athens; and Epiphanius, adorning the church by faith and benevolence, as bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus.

652. Eusebius, the Greek ecclesiastical historian, was the friend of Constantine the Great, and the writer of his life. We are indebted to him for most of the information we now possess concerning the early history of the Christian church. From the time of Constantine, the history was continued by Socrates, a native of Constantinople; by Sozomen, a native of Palestine, living in Constantinople; and by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, in Lydia.

653. But the brightest light of the Greek church in that age was John Chrysostom, at first bishop of Antioch, his native city, and afterwards of Constantinople. He was

more eminent for learning and eloquence, for faithfulness and unbending integrity, than for wisdom and forbearance. He was banished from Constantinople, and died an exile in one of the mountains of the ridge of Taurus.

654. While the Greek church entered warmly into the controversies relating to the Trinity and the Incarnation, its members do not appear to have taken any interest in the disputes connected with the fall of man, original sin, grace, election, and other important doctrines, which prevailed so long in the west. The great controversy respecting the use of images in Christian worship, together with disputes relating to some points of doctrine and the general government of the church, led to an entire separation of the Greek church from the Roman communion, more than a hundred years after the separation of the Eastern from the Western Empire.

655. The emperors of the east were more deeply interested in the vain controversies of theology than in practical religion, or in the civil duties of their station. For several ages, these controversies were followed by a long and drowsy period of superstitious quietude, in which all ranks of civil society, reposing in the articles of faith defined by councils, gave themselves up to the direction of the patriarch and the clergy.

656. These slumbers of external peace were broken, in the middle of the seventh century, by the appearance of the Paulicians. Constantine, of Mananalis, in Armenia, received under his roof a deacon of the church returning from captivity in Syria, who repaid his hospitality with a copy of the New Testament. Professing to draw his views of Christianity from that book, Constantine assumed to himself the name of Silvanus, the companion of Paul in his mission to Greece, and, aided by fellow-labourers, who assumed the names of Timothy, Titus, and Tychicus, he gathered numerous churches in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, from among the Manichæans, the Catholics, and the followers of Zoroaster. Having laboured for twenty-seven years, he fell a sacrifice to the persecution of the Greek emperor. For a hundred and fifty years his followers braved the opposition of Justinian the Second, Nicephorus, Michael the First, and Leo. Under the regency of the empress Theodora they were hunted in the cities

and mountains of Asia Minor, and a hundred thousand of them were cut off by cruel deaths. Provoked by these barbarities, one of the Paulicians, Carbeas, who commanded the guards of the general of the east, and whose father had suffered death for his religion, began a fierce revolt, which raged through Asia Minor for thirty years. With some of the absurdities of Manichæism, the Paulicians united a detestation of images, contempt for sacraments and clergy, the abandonment of the Old Testament, and the Epistles of Peter. Their enemies acknowledge that they were blameless in their morals.

657. It is lamented by most historians that from the age of Constantine the Great, to the ruin of the empire, the Greek church exhibited a revolting scene of bigotry, intolerance, childish superstition, and general debasement.

658. The patriarch of the church overshadowed the monarch of the realm; and the affairs of peace or war, the most private concerns of families, and the public transactions of the state, were warped and controlled by the influence of the monks.

659. When Mohammed the Second, the Turkish conqueror of Constantinople, entered within the walls of the city, he said to the assembled clergy: "Where is he who bears to me the gifts of your patriarch; and why does he not approach in person, to pay his due submission to his king?" "Alas!" replied they, "we have now no patriarch; the last who filled the chair resigned his office, and since then no other has been found to fill his place." On hearing this, the sultan's anger abated, and he gave instant orders to the clergy for the election of a patriarch; "less however," says Malaxas, the Greek historian, "from a wish to favour our holy religion, than from a hope that the re-establishment of the hierarchy would entice the Greeks who had fled, to re-assemble at Constantinople." The choice fell on George Scholarius, who assumed the name of Gennadius. The new patriarch was presented to the sultan, who imitated the ancient form of investiture under the emperors, by placing in his hand a staff adorned with jewels, robing him in an embroidered cloak, and giving him a thousand golden ducats, and a horse with gorgeous trappings, on which he might ride in the capital, accompanied by his train. Malaxas adds, "that the sultan

sought from Gennadius an explanation of the Christian creed and mysteries. When he had concluded, the sultan was amazed at his wisdom and divine knowledge; and, fully convinced of the truth of Christianity, which bore no shadow of deceit, but which, in splendour and purity, was fairer than gold, he instantly conceived the most ardent affection for the followers of the cross, and enacted the bitterest penalties against those who should molest or calumniate the disciples of Christ. Not only did the sultan love the Christians, but also the Mussulmans followed his example on account of the removal of their errors: the sultan had great joy in becoming the king of such a people.”*

660. The political motives of this kindness to his new subjects are sufficiently apparent. It added a link to the chain which bound them to his throne; and it prepared the way for invading Italy, by strengthening the pride and intolerance of the Greek church towards that of Rome. It was the policy of the Mohammedan system to tolerate the professors of every religion that paid tribute to the descendants of the prophet. The places of worship, and the ceremonies of their religion, were left to the Christians. Selym the First, grandson of the conqueror, gave orders to turn all the churches into mosques, and to force the unbelievers by torture to embrace the Moslem faith. Though the order was not rigidly enforced, and the northern and mountainous portions of Greece enjoyed a measure of freedom, in religion as well as in other matters, the meanest building could not be raised in the lowlands, or in the Morea, for Christian worship, without an express firman, or order from the Porte.

661. The church paid the government a stated tribute, and endless presents were expected by every minister of state. A fee was demanded on the installation of every new patriarch, an event of very frequent occurrence. The jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople extended over the greater part of the continent of Greece, the Grecian isles, Wallachia, Moldavia, and other parts of the Turkish dominions both in Europe and in Asia. The faith of the Greek church acknowledges the Scriptures as the rule of faith, together with the decrees of the first seven general councils; but the clergy alone are permitted to

* F. Mal. v. in K. us' Turco-Grecia, vol. i. 119.

read and expound either the declarations of Scripture or the decrees of the councils. They differ from the Latin church, principally in the following particulars :—

662. They maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, not from the Father and the Son. They reject the authority of the pope of Rome. They renounce the doctrines of infallibility, works of supererogation, indulgences, and purgatory, though they allow prayers for the dead. They administer the Lord's Supper, in both kinds, to both clergy and laity, and to children after baptism. Instead of confirmation and extreme unction as sacraments, they use the chrism, or anointing, immediately after baptism, and apply it, if requested, to all sick persons. Though they practice confession, they deny that it is required by Divine command. They do not adore the elements of the Lord's Supper, though they believe in consubstantiation. They use paintings of the virgin and of the saints, and silver shrines in their worship, but not images, or carved representations. Their secular clergy—all who are not monks, with the exception of bishops—are permitted to marry once, while laymen may marry twice.

663. The influence of the patriarch with the Porte was very great. He presided in a court for determining civil as well as ecclesiastical causes among the Greeks. During the time of the emperors, there were not fewer than a thousand bishops in the Greek provinces; but under the Ottoman government the number was reduced to a hundred and fifty or seventy. These bishops, while residing in their dioceses, were exempted from all tribute, and were the protectors of the rights of the Greeks; but the light esteem in which they were held by the Turks, and the bribery by which they were generally corrupted, greatly lessened their power to benefit the community. Their wealth, jurisdiction, and official sanctity, made them almost the only nobles among their degraded countrymen. The countenance given by them to the Russians, towards the close of the eighteenth century, roused the jealousy of the Porte, which deprived them of their property, and bestowed it on the mosques and houses for the poor; but the national pride or devotion of the Greeks raised the revenues of many of them to their former splendour.

664. Throughout the whole of Greece the inferior clergy, or *pappas*, were exceedingly numerous: the only qualifica-

tion required being ability to read, write, and understand the ancient Greek of the liturgy, which was read in the numberless chapels with which the land was covered. Ignorant and superstitious, they were the friends and companions of the peasantry in the mountains, and the more rural districts. They shared their amusements, and not unfrequently, even their crimes. They lived on penances and absolutions. They gave their blessing to the pirate and the brigand. Yet from these men the Greeks received all the light of Christianity that reached them; and among them these were those who taught what they knew, sympathized in the sorrows and oppressions of the people, and formed a bond of union which kept the memory of the gospel from fading altogether from the national mind.

665. The *monasteries* of Greece abounded in picturesque situations, and they were regarded by the Turks with indulgence, inspired partly by their natural reverence for recluses of any religion; and partly by the wealth they exacted from them. The most celebrated were those of Meteora, in Thessaly; Megaspelia, in the north of the Morea; and the convents on Mount Athos, or the Holy Mountain. The monastery of Meteora included about ten houses on the top of the cliffs, which overhang the vale of Selembria, a branch of the Peneus. It was used as a state prison by Ali Pacha. The largest of the Greek monasteries is that of Megaspelia, founded, or completed, by the Greek emperors John Cantaguzene, Andronicus, and Constantine Palæologus. It is the abode of about four hundred and fifty monks, most of whom are dispersed through the country, superintending branch establishments, and cultivating the soil. It is enriched with profitable currant plantations. Pilgrims are attracted to it by an image of the virgin, said to have been made by St. Luke! The interior of the church is covered with ancient marbles, embellished with paintings of virgins and saints, and lighted with lamps of silver. Next to Megaspelia, the largest monastery in the Morea is at Taxiarchi; its greatest attractions for pilgrims are what they are taught to venerate as the sponge which was offered to the dying Saviour on the cross, and the crown of thorns.

666. The convents of Mount Athos, twenty-three in number, are clustered round that steep peninsula, and many of them are believed by the inhabitants to be as ancient as the time of Constantine the Great, and of Honorius and Arca-

dius. They are constructed, as indeed are all the Greek monasteries, like ancient fortresses, situated in the midst of gardens, vineyards, and delicious grounds. The total inhabitants of the peninsula have been variously estimated, at four, six, and eight thousand. Though these monasteries were the chief depositories of the literary treasures of Greece, the monks are as remarkable for their ignorance as for their hospitality. Heaps of Greek manuscripts, some of them very ancient, lie on the floors of the libraries, covered with dust and eaten by worms. Besides the land immediately adjoining the monasteries, some of the convents possessed, at the time of the late revolution, rich lands in Thessaly, Macedonia, and other countries. They were enriched by the contributions of wealthy Greeks. They likewise drew large revenues from the exhibition of their relics. Even in the mountainous parts of Greece, where the rude natives cared little for the saints, the bones which were revered in the valleys, as those of Saint Basil and Saint Nicholas, were presented to their patriotic gaze as the remains of their departed warriors. The wandering and mendicant *caloyers*, or monks, intruded on the churches of the popular clergy, and their conflicts gave rise to disgraceful scenes of violence.

667. We cannot close this review of the progress and decline of Christianity in Greece, without glancing at the efforts made by British and American Christians to revive in that classic and once sacred land the pure gospel of Jesus Christ. They have endeavoured, with more or less success, to introduce Scriptural education, to furnish books suitable for the young, and for schools; and above all, to circulate the Holy Scriptures. "In all the Ionian islands, in all continental Greece," says an English writer, a member of the Literary Society of Athens, "in all the islands of the *Ægean*, one but rarely hears a discourse on the great question of reconciliation with God, the mediation of Jesus Christ, the work of the Spirit, and other prominent truths of the Bible. Those are displaced either by the liturgy, the mass, or the trashy legends of weak and superstitious ascetics. From such a state of things what can be expected? I have heard one of the best men in Greece offer heaven from the pulpit, for a few honours to St. George of Cappadocia, or a shilling to the shrine of a modern demigod."*

* W. H. W. "Narrative of the Life of St. George of Cappadocia."

668 The establishment of schools on the continent, and in the islands of Greece, has been carried on with much energy, by the Greek Education Society. In the six years which ended with the year 1840, sixty-seven thousand volumes of the Holy Scriptures had been distributed, almost exclusively in Greece, and large supplies are continually issuing from the dépôt at Athens. The Religious Tract Society, likewise, has circulated large quantities of tracts throughout the country, in the modern Greek language.

CHAPTER XL.

INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT GREECE ON OTHER LANDS.

On the civilized world—Romans—Persians—Freedom—Grecian writers—Language—Poetry—Philosophy—Greek influence in connexion with religion—Discoveries of intelligence—Nature and tendency of the religion of the Greeks—History of the Greek mind—Schools—Our obligations to the ancient Greeks—Weakness of philosophy—Achievements of intellect—Absence of true religion—Result of our acquaintance with the ancient philosophy—One leading object of this history—Advantages of the Greeks—The wars of the Greek nation—Misery—Slavery—Religion of the Greeks—Remarks—Civilisation—What it did, and what it did not do—Inefficient without religion—Separation of the Greeks—Union—Disunion—Advantages derived by Christians from the Greeks—*First recipients of the gospel—Greatest treasure left by Greece.*

669. THE influence of the ancient Greeks has been felt throughout the whole civilized world. It was from them, in great part, that the Romans derived the basis of their celebrated code, "The Laws of the Twelve Tables." By the stand they made against the Persians, they saved not themselves only, but all Europe, from the thralldom of oriental despotism; the battles of Thermopylæ, Marathon, and Salamis, decided the great question in which our modern civilisation was involved to a degree which it is difficult to estimate. The freedom which is the quickener of nations, the parent of commerce, the nurse of poetry, eloquence, and art, and the guardian of religion, was won for Europe by the people who produced Leonidas, Miltiades, and Themistocles.

670. The study of the immortal writers of Greece has fed the flame of patriotism, and of nearly every sentiment that raises and dignifies a nation. By their glorious language, their majestic poetry, their burning eloquence, and their polished histories, these ancient writers have refined the taste and guided the genius by which our purest modern

literature has been created, our manners softened, and our liberties secured. Their philosophers have been, remotely, the teachers of all educated nations; the lessons of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, enlarged and corrected by our divine faith, have disciplined the intellect, and formed the sentiments of the instructors of the popular mind; and the children in our schools, the mechanics in our shops, the peasants in our fields, are unconsciously benefited by the thoughts recorded nearly thirty centuries ago in Greece. The models of all that is scientific, grand, and beautiful in architecture, or statuary, are still before us in the fragments of the Grecian arts.

671. Nor should we be unmindful of the benefits which we derive indirectly from the ancient Greek in connexion with our religion. The progress of intelligence amongst the ancient Greeks detected the folly of the popular idolatry—of that idolatry, which under all its forms, the rudest or the most perfect, was a degradation of man and an insult to God. The wisest among them, indeed, conformed to the outward usages of religion, as they found it; yet it was the labour of their lives to convince their countrymen that the common notions of religion were mischievous mistakes. In this way they prepared the world for a better state of things,—for a religion which is true, for worship which is a “reasonable service.” They called their attention away from sacrifices, festivals, and priests, to nature and to virtue. They appealed, not to superstitious terrors, but to manly principles. The people were taught to think, as well as to imagine. The history of the Greek mind may be traced in their battles, their laws, their arts, their amusements; but especially in their schools. These schools were not founded by the priests: they sprang from a sense of want which their superstitions, instead of satisfying, only increased. Wherever Grecian civilisation extended, this want was felt. The worship of statues, however beautiful, in temples, however grand, cannot appease the desire for knowledge, nor suppress the struggles for improvement. Perhaps in no city of the ancient world were there more idolatries than in others; and yet in no city of the world, unless Rome be excepted, was there so strong and so general a conviction that these idolatries were foolish: and this conviction, let it be observed,

was the result, not of positive acquaintance with what is true and divine, but of thought on the nature of man. From the Greeks these thoughts, beautifully expressed, passed into the Roman schools. From Rome they spread through Europe; and, amongst the means employed by Providence for the deliverance of Europe from the revived Paganism which had usurped the place of Christianity within the church, was the revival of the ancient learning, and the general awakening of men's thinking powers.

672. But while we acknowledge our obligations to the ancient Greeks in these respects, we are still more deeply their debtors for the demonstration of the weakness of philosophy. What the intellect of man could do, they did. But they knew not God. They felt after him, but they found him not. They knew that Jupiter, and Apollo, and Minerva, and Neptune, were only poetical personifications. They knew that there must be some Beginner of things. They knew that every system as it rose, and then gave place to some other system of wisdom, was defective. But of the living God,—the Creator, the Judge, the Saviour of men; they had no knowledge. They could not unseal the fountains of eternal happiness. They could not unveil the future. They could not tell of Him who is wise, holy, just, eternal, merciful. True it is, and an humbling truth, that in their self-reliance, the later Greeks of the apostolic age looked with levity and scorn upon the preachers of the cross. But the preachers of the cross could prove, and did prove, that while their philosophy raised them in some respects above the slavery of superstition, it still left in awful darkness the questions of the dearest interest to every human heart: they proclaimed to them a living Saviour, who was "God manifest in the flesh;" by whose death on the cross, resurrection to life, and glory in heaven, the guilty are justified, and the lost for ever saved; From the Greeks we have learned to reason; and by the reasoning they have taught us, we prove the superiority of our light to theirs. We know what they did not know, and, while it would be arrogance and folly to boast, as though we were superior to Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle, it would be absurd to deny, that, in all that is essential to human happiness, our means of knowledge and our actual knowledge, are immeasurably beyond their's. It

would require a larger examination of the Grecian philosophy than would suit either the design, or the limits, of this volume, to enter fully into this subject: but enough has been said to show, that the more familiar men become with the attainments of these ancient and honoured sages, the surer will be our conviction of the darkness which brooded over them, while the true light shines around us.

673. Let us compare the knowledge we possess of God, of Providence, of eternal life, of the way of salvation, which is enjoyed by ordinary Christians, with any of the discoveries of the wisest of the Athenian teachers. The whole body of their learning which has come down to us, is a splendid acknowledgment of ignorance. As they had not discovered the character of God, neither could they teach men, who knew that they were offenders, how to obtain peace with Him. Almost in so many words do they declare to us, that if we would know God, enjoy true peace, and secure happiness hereafter, we must be guided by wiser teachers. *We have* wiser teachers, even men inspired of God.

674. The History which we are now concluding will not have accomplished one of its leading objects, if it does not strike us, and that very vividly, with the *emptiness of all merely earthly good*. Large portions of the population of Greece enjoyed, in a high degree, all the gratifications of the senses, of the imagination, of the social affections, and of the intellectual faculties, which the world in which we live can be supposed to place within the reach of mortals. They were endowed by nature with the highest sensibility. They lived in a glorious land, beneath a lovely sky. They long boasted a nobler freedom than any other nation (except the Hebrews) had ever possessed. They abounded in all the luxury that wealth could purchase. They rejoiced in the applauses of fame. They cultivated all the embellishment that the highest art could furnish. They revelled in the creations of poetry, and the excitements of eloquence. They sounded the deep waters of philosophy; Yet who shall say, that, on the whole, the Greeks, in their best days, were a happy people? It might be said, with truth, that no people have been happy. The more we know of history, the more gloomy are our ideas of the state in which all the nations of the earth have been. But we now refer

to the Greeks, for the purpose of marking, specially, the sources of unhappiness which arose out of their character and their institutions

675. Let us call to mind their perpetual wars. War had its excitements and its glories. But it was always the endurance of much suffering on both sides, and dreadful misery to the vanquished. With the exception of the repelling of the Persians, and the unsuccessful resistance of the Romans, the battles of the Greeks were, mainly, with their own countrymen. This perpetual irritation—this jealousy—was misery. Pride and peril brought misery. The pride was misery. The peril was misery. It was misery to be defeated, to be impoverished, to be enslaved, to be widowed, to be condemned to work in mines, to be left fatherless, to be led to slaughter, as a captive. Yet such was the almost constant state of one part or other of Greece, for long periods of its history.

676. Let us reflect on the *slavery* which existed in Greece. In Athens alone, there were four hundred thousand slaves. We cannot believe that *they* were happy; even the laws enacted by the Athenians for their protection prove the miseries to which they were subjected. In the time of war, and that was rather the rule than the exception of Grecian life for many ages, these large masses of slaves were continual occasions of anxiety to their masters and to the state, especially in Sparta. The *religion* of the Greeks was at best but a melancholy dream; and we have seen that their philosophy did but little to relieve their darkness.

677. The entire survey of their history, brilliant as it is in so many respects, still leaves on the heart the cold and comfortless reflection, that the good they enjoyed was slight, transient, embittered with perpetual misery, and bounded by a gloomy prospect of futurity. And yet it is for such good as this, that men with higher knowledge, with purer sources of enjoyment at hand, and with the glorious hopes of the gospel within their reach, are spending their whole lives—sacrificing the solid for the shadowy, the certain for the uncertain, the eternal future for the chances of the passing day!

678. It is among the advantages bequeathed to us by the countrymen of Pericles and Plato, that they have left on

lasting record, the superiority of knowledge and virtue to brute force. It was by these qualities that the Greeks excelled the Persians, and the Athenians the rest of Greece. It is the cultivation of their minds, the discipline of noble sentiments, that preserves in the memory of men the admiration of their name.

679 Even the bravery which is more vulgarly admired, was in them exalted by the higher glory of their accomplished minds. Had it not been for their historians, orators, poets, philosophers, and artists, their naval and military glories, their battles and their victories, would long ago have been buried in oblivion. An educated people—above all, a people educated in the holy principles of the true religion—by mastering their own passions, and applying the laws of nature to the improvements by which art is raised in usefulness and beauty, acquire to themselves a rich inheritance, and fame which cannot die. It is one of the highest attainments of civilisation to assert the superiority of reason to force, and of morals to interest. And the entire history of Greece displays the need of such a state of things, and the progress of the human mind towards it.

680. Yet what did civilisation, as exhibited in Greece, do for purifying the passions, and exalting the character of men?—It did *not* extinguish some of the grossest vices that degraded human nature. It did not insure the purity and tenderness of domestic life. It did not abate the selfishness and ferocity of war. It did not check the increase of luxury. It did not raise the poor above servility, nor restrain the rich from arrogance. It did not prevent the corruptions of bribery. It afforded ample scope, and every inducement for injustice, rapacity, and cruelty. Such was the state of man under the highest powers of Grecian civilisation. *Such is the utmost that man has ever done for himself.* Socrates left the Athenians idolaters. There is no evidence that his philosophy even improved their manners. The most penetrating intellect, or the most brilliant talents, offered no security for moral virtue. If a few of the higher classes were rescued by philosophy from superstition, and from vice, the general mind of Greece continued to be strongly attached to paganism through all the revolutions of the country; and even the progress of Chris-

tinuity did but slowly banish the delusion. The baneful influence of that delusion it is impossible to describe: a very slight knowledge of some of those ancient writings of the Greeks, in which their private manners are exhibited, is enough to show that it was great, constant, and universal. Their gods were not imagined to be holy beings. Their religion was utterly destitute of any principle resembling holiness; it was itself irreligious and immoral. Their laws were as defective as their religion. And the practices of their philosophers were no better. It is for those who live in pagan countries now to show, as they have often done, how these evil consequences naturally flow from paganism, and to make us sensible, that all the polish of the highest civilisation still left the Greeks in depths of moral debasement. It is well that this lesson be learned and remembered. It is for the interest of the human family that we should understand from actual experiment, that civilisation without religion, religion without truth, truth without inward grace, cannot raise a people to the level on which they ought to stand, as men who are created in the likeness of God! Without this spiritual devotion, the richest fruits of civilisation are like the vineyards planted on the side of a volcano, which are destroyed by the fires that nourished them.

681. Though the separation of the Greeks from each other was owing, at first, to the nature of their country, it was kept up by feelings of mutual hostility. This principle, though softened in particular cases, was the basis of the laws which regulated the intercourse of different states. Only persons belonging to the same state were regarded as entitled to the protection of the law. Every stranger was an enemy. The dearest interests of every Greek were continually threatened by Greeks who lived on the other side of the same mountain, or on a neighbouring island. That they *could* unite was manifest on great emergencies, but ordinarily, they lived in a state of proud or sullen defiance of each other. As it was by union, though imperfect, that they drove the Persians from their coasts, so it was by their disunion that they prepared themselves to become the dupes of Philip; and at last to perish, as a nation, in the iron grasp of Rome. The fallen columns of their temples, the

ruins that still crumble in the shade of their majestic hills, are the teachers of a lesson which it is the business of the wise to heed, and to enforce. That lesson is—not only that the proudest monuments of human art must perish, and that the brightest beams of earthly glory must fade; but that the bravest and the wisest must be devout, virtuous, and united, if they would save their land from conquest, and their posterity from degradation.

682. We turn from these somewhat sad meditations to record some of the direct advantages derived by Christians of all nations from the Greeks. It was the men of Macedonia, the Greeks of Philippi, and Thessalonica, and Berea, and Athens, and Corinth, and Achaia, that received from apostolic lips the gospel of the grace of God—for us. In their language it was written.—To their churches it was committed. And reverently did they preserve the holy treasure. We cannot forget, amid much that is to be lamented in the early history of the church, that hymns and prayers to God, wise and solemn addresses to the people, were long heard in Grecian cities and isles and colonies. The grand facts of our religion became embodied in men's minds. Some of the essential doctrines of our faith were rescued from the corruptions of a deceitful philosophy. Beautiful examples were given of the chastity, temperance, gentleness, generosity, humility, and love, of which the Grecian character was susceptible, when it was animated by the love of Christ; and among those were some of the earliest and firmest confessors and martyrs of the church. The Christians of Greece—few in comparison, and obscure, and living at a time when Greece had sunk into a Roman province—will be remembered, hereafter, by nations that will pass lightly by the names of heroes and philosophers, of orators and poets.

683. The writing of this history was undertaken, and has been carried on, with much of that enthusiastic admiration of the Greeks which is excited by the studies of youth and sobered by the experience of riper years. But such studies are delusive, and such experience is thrown away, if we do not arise above the level on which the Greeks were placed, and view all their history, and all their institutions, in the light of Christianity. They owed their peculiarities

to combinations of circumstances that will never be repeated: "*The mould in which they were formed is broken.*" They fulfilled the purposes for which they were raised up by Providence; and their monuments remain for the instruction of following ages. It is but a poor use to make of all that they have done, merely to wonder at their greatness. It is a perversion of our higher advantages to imitate their example, in the idolatry of splendid names. The brightest day for Greece was that on which the light of the gospel touched the hearts of the inhabitants. The richest treasure they have left us is—not their poetry, their statuary, their architecture, their heroism, or their philosophy; but the "word of the Lord," which "came unto them, and sounded out from them." It is sounding out still. It will continue to sound out from all who receive it as they did, until it has reached every ear in every land, and secured the freedom, virtue, and happiness, of the world!

CHAPTER XLI.

CONCLUSION.

General survey of the state of Greece from ancient times—Effects produced—Remarks at the close of the work—Sources of information—Advantages resulting from a study of Grecian history—Summary description of Greece—Connexion with the neighbouring countries—Climate—Cities of Magna Græcia—Names—Byzantium (now Constantinople)—Great men of Greece—Institutions—Language—Games—Laws—Oracles—Mysteries—Schools—Political associations—Struggles for Independence—Best security for political freedom—Effects of war—Application of the principles of Christianity—Connexion of Grecian history with the progress of the human mind—Influence of climate—Character of the Athenians—Comparison of the Spartans with them—Varieties of character—Prevalence of one feature—Activity and ingenuity of the Greek mind—Their social disposition—Influence of what they did, in promoting general civilization—Difference between the Greek constitution and our own—Tendency of the Grecian religion—How we should regard the prosperity and decline of Greece—Reflections—Concluding observations on the Providence of God, as illustrated in this history.

681. We have now traced the origin of the inhabitants of Greece. We have gathered the traditions of their earliest times. From their own writers we have drawn the story of their progress from small beginnings to their condition as a great people. We have seen the rise of Athens to supremacy. We have followed the planting of the Gre-

ian colonies in the east and in the west. We have beheld the invasion of the Romans and their defeat. We have seen the jealousy of Athens among the other states, and the progress of the great Peloponnesian war. We have described the Athenian expedition against Sicily, and its failure. We have marked the progress and the fall of Thebes. We have sketched the history of Philip, the conquests of Alexander, and the changes of the Macedonian empire. We have traced the progress of the Achæan and the Ætolian leagues, down to the Roman subjugation of Greece. We have viewed the state of Greece under the Romans, and then under the Turks, until the establishment of Greece as an independent kingdom. Besides the political revolutions of Greece, our attention has been directed separately to the consideration of their manners, their literature and arts, their philosophy, and their religion: and we have endeavoured to show the effects which have been produced by them, in various ways, on other nations.

685. On every part of this wide field it has been necessary, for the most part, to be brief; yet nothing that appeared to belong to the subject has been intentionally passed over. For those who desire to enter more minutely, and more fully, into any department of this extensive history, the present sketch is offered as an introduction to larger works. The completest history of Greece, in the English language, is that of Dr. Thirlwall, which closes with the conquest of Greece by the Romans. It contains the result of exact study of the Greek writers, and of learned acquaintance with the labours of the profound and diligent scholars of modern Germany. The state of the Greeks under the Romans must be gathered from the Roman histories and other Latin writers. Their state under the Turks must be found in the historians of the Turkish empire; and the only "*History of Modern Greece*," which we have read in our language, is that of Mr. Emerson Tennant, in two volumes, published in the year 1830. The state of the Greeks, in later times, and the particulars of their last revolution, will be found in the works of modern travellers, such as Clarke, Hobhouse, Leake, Gell, Hughes, and Tiersch.

686. The advantages to be derived from the pursuit of

this study are numerous and weighty; and in briefly illustrating some of these, we shall bring this volume to a close.

687. The History of Greece introduces us to a knowledge of some of the most interesting regions of the earth. Let the reader examine carefully the map of Greece. With that map before him, let him trace the course of the following vivid description:—"The last moments of the day were employed in taking once more a survey of the superb scenery exhibited by the mountains of Olympia and Ossa. . . . The great Olympian chain, and a range of lower eminences to the north-west of Olympus, form a line which is exactly opposite to Salonica, and even the chasm between Olympus and Ossa, constituting the Defile of Tempé, is hence visible. Directing the eye towards that chain, there is comprehended in one view the whole of Pieria and Botticœa; and with the vivid impressions which remained after leaving the country, memory easily recalled into our mental picture the whole of Greece; because it is portioned out by nature into parts of such magnitude, possessing at the same time such striking features, that, after they have ceased to appear before the sight, they remain present to the imagination. Every reader may not duly comprehend what is meant by this; but every traveller, who has beheld the scenes to which allusion is made, will readily admit its truth; he will be aware, that whenever he closed his eyes, with his thoughts directed towards that country, the whole of it became spread before his contemplation as if they were actually indulged with a view of it. In such an imaginary flight he enters, for example, the Defile of Tempé from Pieria, and as the gorge opens towards the south, he sees all the Larissean plain: this conducts him to the Plain of Pharsalia, whence he ascends the mountains south of Pharsalus; then crossing the bleak and still more elevated region extending from those mountains towards Lamia, he views Mount Pindus far before him, and descending into the plain of the Sperchius, passes the straits of Thermopylæ. Afterwards ascending Mount Cœta, he beholds opposite to him the snowy point of Lycorea, with all Parnassus, and the towns and villages at its base; the whole plain of Elatea lying at his feet, with the course of the Cephissus to the sea. Passing to the top of Parnassus, he looks down upon all the other mountains, and plains, and islands, and gulfs of Greece; but especially

surveys the broad bosom of Cithæron, of Helicon, of Parnes, and of Hymettus. Thence roaming into the depths and over all the heights of Eubœa and of Peloponnesus, he has their inmost recesses again submitted to his contemplation. Next, resting upon Hymettus, he examines even in the minutest detail, the whole of Attica, to the Sunian promontory; for he sees it all, and all the shores of Argos, of Sicyon, of Corinth, of Megara, of Elensis, and of Athens. Thus, although not in all the freshness of its living colours, yet in all its grandeur doth Greece actually present itself to the mind's eye; and may the impression never be removed !**

688. Such is the lively picture of that country which has been the scene of most of the events narrated in this volume. But the course of the history cannot be followed without having "the mind's eye" filled with an equally vivid picture of the western parts of Asia Minor, which belonged to Greece. Washed on the north by the Euxine, on the south by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Ægean, the waters near its western coast are studded with the beautiful and famous islands, Tenedos, Lemnos, Lesbos, Scio, Samos, Rhodes; its shores, indented with deep bays, were formerly enriched with the populous and wealthy cities of Colophon, Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and Magnesia. From the highlands of the interior, surrounded by mountain ranges, interspersed in the north with romantic glens and fertile dales, its largest rivers, the Illys, the Iris, the Tratsa, the Apsarius, the Sargarius, fall into the Euxine; while its smaller streams, the Rhynidius, the Æsipus, the Granicus, and the Horosius, watering the plain of Broassa, are received by the Propontis. From the range of Temnos, the eastern boundary of the maritime regions, the Cayster, the Caicus, the Hermus, and the Meander, find their way to the Ægean. This beautiful country, with its delicious climate, was for ages the abode of the Ionians, the seat of commerce, the nursery of arts, and the parent school of Grecian philosophy; and there is not an island, a city, a river, which has not contributed its share to the interest and the glory of Greece.

689. The cities of Magna Græcia in like manner, which

were founded by Greek colonists, and shared largely in the political and intellectual history of Greece, should be traced—Tarentum, Crotonia, with her daughter cities Caulononia, Pandœsia, and Terina; Sybaris, Thurii; Metapontum, Posidonia, or Pæstum; and Hipponium; Cusna; Rhegium; Maxos, and its daughter cities Leontine and Catana, in Sicily; Syracuse, Megara Hyblœa, and Agrigentum, in the same island. And so we might follow the colonies in an opposite direction which flow from Athens to Amphipolis, and from Megara to the coasts of Thrace and Bithynia, studding them with the Grecian cities, Astacus (Nicomedia), Chalcedon, Mescimbria, Selymbia, Heraclea in the Pontus, and above all Byzantium—since called Constantinople.

690. When we speak or think of ancient Greece, we include all those varied and interesting portions of Europe and Asia, as well as the country properly so called. In each of these places we should find all the varieties of natural scenery, and the centre of a wide circle of interesting events.

691. The history of Greece is richer than any other history in the names of men who have won for themselves a lasting fame. Each of these names is so identified with some great event, some remarkable place, some long-established system, or some memorable production of genius, that they shine like stars in the memory of polished nations. What glory for the same land to have produced Herodotus, the father of history; Thucydides and Xenophon; Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Solon, and Lycurgus; Demosthenes, Miltiades, Themistocles, Epaminondas, Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle! Within a period of a hundred and sixty years, these illustrious men raised Greece from obscurity and comparative barbarism to the highest point of power and splendour.

692. The history of Greece presents to us a series of the most elaborate and lasting institutions. Besides those that were local and peculiar to separate states, there were others which embraced nearly all the states, and formed the only bond of connexion which served to constitute them one people. Their majestic language, with its varying dialects; their games inciting to the most strenuous cultivation of the most admired qualities of mind and body; their laws,

the germs of the laws of the civilized world ; their oracles, though founded on fraud and superstition, wielding a tremendous force over the feelings and the transactions of a whole people ; their mysteries, at one time upholding, and at another destroying, the idolatry which deceived the nation ; their schools, which gathered the lights of knowledge from the farthest east, and shed their mild, though imperfect, radiance on the growing nations of the farthest west ; their political associations, which gave so peculiar a character to their governments. What a noble people ! Wherever liberal studies are encouraged, it will form part of an enlightened education to investigate the origin, the features, and the effect of these institutions, which were at once the expression, and the mould, of the Greek mind.

693. The history of Greece stirs the mind by the recital of the earliest and some of the severest struggles ever made for liberty and national independence. There was a continual struggle going on within every state, for the ascendancy of the few over the many, or of the many over the few ; and without some knowledge of these struggles it is impossible to understand the peculiarities of the history of Greece. Besides this there were the struggles of one state with another, and of one confederacy of states against another confederacy of states ; and, on one or two occasions, there was the combined struggle of nearly all the Grecian states against a common enemy. To men of peaceful principles and quiet habits, their perpetual fightings can be regarded with no other feelings than those of indignation, disgust, or pity ; yet the student of history must observe that it was in the midst of all this fighting, and very much indeed by means of it, that the Greeks became what they were. Thus it was that they formed and displayed the manliness of their spirit ;—thus they showed, on one part, their love of power, and on the other, their determination to be free. We can scarcely wish that so ingenious and high-minded a people should have been trodden down by tyrants, by oligarchies, or by mobs, or that they should have fallen before the ambitious power of Persia, laying all Europe at the feet of oriental despotism. It was, in fact—whatever opinion we may form of war—by hardy training in youth, by cherishing what they believed to be noble sentiments, by energy of counsel, and by bravery in the field or on the

sea, that the Greeks, like the English in later times, maintained their standing as a free and independent nation. Believing as *we* do, that there is no solid security for political freedom in any country where the power of the government is not supported by the consent of the intelligent and virtuous portion of those who have an interest in the country, where that power is not used for the good of the whole community, and used in a way that agrees with the principles of justice and humanity, we may form our own opinions of the spirit of the ancient Greeks in their contests for their freedom. We may believe that war, even supposing it to be in any case justifiable—a question never raised by the Greeks—has done more towards destroying than promoting the liberties of mankind; and it becomes us to apply, to their utmost extent, the principles of Christianity among professed Christians. Instead of imbibing the warlike spirit of the ancient Greeks—that spirit which their poetry, their religion, their arts, their eloquence, their local recollections, all inspired and fostered—we should remember that we are taught by a religion to which they were strangers; and that what we may lament as mistakes in them would be crimes of the deepest dye in us, if we should be seduced, by the genius of ancient or modern writers, to admire and imitate them. It must be confessed, that there is some danger in our becoming familiar with the glory of the Grecian wars, whether adorned with the graces of the Epic, or the Tragic, or the Lyric poet, or glittering in the lively descriptions of the historian; and it cannot be too deeply lamented that these wars have been celebrated by even Christian writers without warning their readers of the danger. Let that warning be faithfully and solemnly sounded here. Without touching the abstract question of war, truth compels us to declare, that in all countries and in all ages, war has done more than all other causes to cover the earth with misery and crime. It reverses all the laws of human nature; it breathes the most malignant passions; it sets loose the fiercest spirits; it wastes the fruits of the earth; it exhausts and impoverishes nations; it hardens the hearts of men, of women, and of children. It was at the cost of many virtues, and of an incalculable amount of personal, domestic, and national enjoyments, that the Greeks of old maintained their freedom; and it

was by the more successful wars of a stronger people than themselves, that, at last, they lost it.

694. The history of Greece is a beautiful chapter in the progress of the human mind. The activity, subtlety, richness, and beauty of the Greek intellect, must have had some connexion with the climate of their country, the nature of the scenery amid which they lived, the exciting events of their history, the perpetual emulation inspired by their institutions, and the extensive influence of minds of a peculiar order, which from time to time appear among them.

695. The effect of climate on the habits of a people has long engaged the attention of observers; but in the history of nations this effect is often greatly modified, and sometimes counteracted, by other causes. A similar observation may be made respecting the influence of natural scenery. The Greeks occupied a country in which the bracing vigour of the mountain air was harmonized with the gentler power of fertile valleys. The hardihood of the north blended with the sensibility of the south. The visions of poetry, and the meditations of philosophy, were mingled with the bustle of commerce, and the energy of war. The Athenians, occupying a barren territory, acquired the command of the sea, branched out into distant colonies, and enriched themselves with the productions of more fruitful regions. They were ever of a lively, joyous and graceful disposition, addicted to luxury and splendour. The Spartans living in a rich country, but governed by more rigid customs, were comparatively poor, frugal, grave, taciturn, firmer, and more tenacious in their purposes. While the Corinthians, placed in the heart of Greece, and communicating, by their ports on two opposite gulfs, with all the harbours of Greece, and of the known world, were distinguished by all the excellences and faults of a flourishing commercial people.

696. The various governments of ancient Greece were partly the cause, and partly the effect, of the varieties in their circumstances and in their manners. With all these varieties, it is not difficult to discover a common character pervading the entire nation—a spirit which was the result of the traditions, laws, religion, institutions, and language: common to them all. Though Athens is better known to us than other parts of Greece, from the long celebrity she enjoyed as the seat of arts, and the school of philosophy,

we shall not err greatly in taking the character of the Athenians as being, in a great degree, that of all the Greeks. The active and ingenious mind of this people has left its impressions on every subject. Their practical undertakings were vigorous. Their legislation was adapted to the people. Their poetry touches every theme,—war and peace,—the attributes of God and the passions of men—the bold, the terrible, the playful, the tender;—from the simplest song of shepherds, and the most harmonious pictures of daily life, to the majestic epic and the awful tragedy. Their arts were exquisite, on the smallest and on the largest scale. The delicate gem, the elegant ornament, the domestic lamp or vase, occupied the refined labour of the same national genius that produced the statue of Minerva, and the massive architecture of the Acropolis. Their eloquence is known by its effects, by the testimony of historians, by the remains of it, which awaken the surprise and admiration of every scholar, and by the united judgments of the greatest orators of Rome, of Germany, of England, and of France. Their philosophy, soaring towards heights beyond the reach of the human intellect, was impatient of the toil of experiment, which has raised modern science to so superior a height; yet it is a noble monument. It went as far as any philosophy of other countries, which knew not, or disregarded, the instructions of the Bible. Their victories will live in men's minds as long as bravery is admired:—men will think of the pass of Thermopylae, the plain of Marathon, the sea-fight of Salamis, and even of the mournful defeat of Chæroneæ, until the time shall come when even the memory of war shall be blotted out from the history of nations.

697. The history of Greece unfolds to us one of the most interesting stages in the progress of human civilisation. The rude tribes of the east and of the north were enlightened, after their settlement in Greece, with the knowledge of the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, and the most polished nations of Asia. The national character of the Greeks produced a state of society of which there had been no models, and which has never been imitated by any other people. Some of the great principles which distinguished the savage from civilized life were carried out by them with great force and dignity. Their laws—their religion—their commerce—

their wars—their amusements—all bespoke the feeling of a free people, proud of their freedom, jealous of their rights, refined in their tastes, and polished in their manners. No people of profane history owed less to others: no people have conferred more on others, in the promotion of civilisation.

698. It is not by the work they did, or by the literature they have left, so much as by the example they have set, that they have promoted the civil progress of other people. What they did, as we have seen, served the people of many lands, by rolling back the tide of eastern empire from the shores of Europe; by gathering the fruits of civilisation which grew on their own genial soil, and scattering them far and wide; by preserving the knowledge of events, the charms of imagination, and the discoveries of philosophy in a language which has been read, admired, and translated by, all civilised nations. But the example of the Greeks has been inspiring. They have spoken from their tombs. Their voice has been as a trumpet to awaken the world. They have taught mankind how much may be accomplished by energy, cultivation, and reliance on themselves. It was not by studying other nations, or borrowing from them, that they reached their greatness, but by following their own genius, and making the best use of their own minds and bodies, their own institutions, and their own character; by *doing* what posterity admires; by making their enemies feel their power; and by animating each other with all the excitements of an intense and constant emulation.

699. Without valuing beyond its true worth the kind of civilisation exemplified by the Greeks in their most flourishing state, we cannot fail to remark that it was the highest of the kind. And it is instructive to observe, that it was in the nature of such civilisation to destroy itself. There was none of that balancing of parties in any of the states, which is regarded as the foundation of permanent liberty in the constitution of our own country. There was no bond of union sufficiently close to suppress the mutual jealousy of these independent republics toward each other. There was no motive strong enough to resist the corruptions by which they were ruined. *The weakness of Greece lay in the poverty of her morals.* The poverty of her morals was

owing to the falsehood of her religion. It was impossible for their religion, with all its elegance, to command the reverence of an enlightened and reflecting people. It was local. It was sensual. It was imaginative. It was superstitious. But it was *not true*. It accorded neither with the nature of man, nor with the laws of the universe. It presented no majestic truths to engage and satisfy the intellect. It had no voice for the conscience. It had no balm for the wounds of the spirit. It had no light for the chamber of death. There was nothing in it to dignify men's sentiments, or to restrain their passions. It could not overawe the selfish, nor subdue the proud. It knew nothing of an unseen Witness ever present, of a Judge by whom all thoughts are weighed, and all actions condemned or approved. It had no terrors for the wicked, nor consolations for the righteous, in the sure prospect of an eternal state. And it revealed no Saviour from the guilt and the misery of which every heart is conscious. And the stage of civilisation in which we behold this interesting people of antiquity enforces the weighty lesson, that the civilisation which does not touch the secret springs of human action is imperfect and must be destructive of itself. The only law of the destruction of civilized communities that we can discover, is the moral law of God, by which sin is punished. In this view it might be profitable to compare Greece with Egypt, with Persia, and with Rome. For clear and strong as the differences are between these countries and empires, they all present this common feature—the inevitable weakness, the fatal destruction, of the people who live not in obedience to the laws of God. Mighty they may become, rich, splendid, and luxurious; but in their very heart they have a mortal taint; and, sooner or later, they must be swept away.

700. Now, as it would be impossible to restore to Greece the domination of that superstition which influenced the character of her people for a thousand years, it would be absurd to expect that the scenes of ancient history should be repeated, or the spirit of the men of old revived. Argos and Thebes, Corinth, Sparta and Athens, are unchanged in the essential features of their scenery. Olympus and Æta, Pindus and Parnassus, still left their awful forms amid the tempest, or the sunshine. But the gods of

Greece are dead. The oracles are dumb. The muses have vanished: " 'Tis Grecco;—but living Greece no more." There may be some allowance due to classical scholars, to poets, and to the friends of human liberty, when they pour forth their mournful strains over the desolations of Greece. But there is a more healthy mode of regarding those desolations. We may look at Grecco with larger views: we may judge of her calamities as well as of her glory, in the light of higher principles. The principles we mean, are those of *Divine Providence*.

701. Whatever mysteries there may be to us in the Providence which rules over all things, we should remember that our powers of comprehension are limited; that we cannot see very far; that spaces of time which appear to us so long as to overwhelm our thought, are but "as yesterday" to the Eternal Ruler; and that until we "see the end," we can judge but feebly of the events by which that end shall have been accomplished.

702. Let us reflect on the history of Greece, as forming one part, it may be a very small and insignificant part, of the government of God in this world. Taking such a view of the events which we have been surveying, what do we behold? Here is a country singularly formed. It is visited by wanderers. They settle in its valleys, by its streams, along its gulfs. They fight. One party drives another to seek a distant home. Around their many centres they form independent states. These states differ from each other, according to the character of individuals, the circumstances of their association, and the legends of their traditions. By their fears and jealousies these states are trained to courage and the arts of war. The situation of some of them prompts the undertakings of piracy and of trade. From among them settlements are planted in distant places of the east and of the west. The colonies enrich, and enlighten, the parent states. By means of their colonies and of their connexions with the subjects of the Persian monarchy, they provoke the vengeance and ambition of the great king of Asia. They drive the eastern armament from their coasts. Feeling their strength, and fired by the memory of their own deeds, they become as splendid as well as a powerful people. Their language is cultivated to the highest perfection. Their arts displayed.

the profoundest science, and the most exquisite taste. They carry speculative philosophy as far as seems possible to the human intellect. They become feeble through disunion, and through venality and luxury. They are gradually bowed under the authority of the Macedonian kings ;—they become first the allies, then the subjects, of the Roman empire. Following the vicissitudes of that empire, they fall beneath the oppression of the Turks. After a long course of degradation and suffering, they regain their independence, and take their place, very subordinate, among the nations of modern Europe.

703. The unseen hand of Providence may be traced in all this.

704. It was from the power of God, exhibited in the laws of nature which are His laws, that Greece received her form. He laid the foundations of her mountains, and guided the courses of her streams.—Her climate, her shores, her soil, her mines, her fruits, were produced by HIM ; so that whatever was the degree in which the history of the Greeks was influenced by these outward causes, it is to be ascribed to the work of God.

705. It was from the same power that the Greeks received their own physical characteristics of mind or body. Another kind of men, in the same outward condition, would have worked out a widely different history.

706. The connexions of the men of one part of Greece with the men of another part of Greece, and of the men of Greece at large with those of other countries, were ordered by the arrangements of the same wise and Almighty Providence.

707. The success of the Greeks in their undertakings, though not miraculous, like those of the Hebrews in some parts of their history, was secured to them by the guidance of the providence of God. This will peculiarly strike us when we reflect on the effect produced, not only by the skill and courage of the Greeks themselves, but by the mistakes of their enemies, and especially by circumstances which could be no more foreseen by one party than avoided by the other.

708. The same kind of observation applies to the failures of the Greeks. Their defeats by one another—the circumstances that laid them open to the designs of Philip—the possession of the Thracian mines, which gave the

Macedonian the command of armies and of orators—the rare character and vast exploits of Alexander—the situation in which Greece, as well as other countries, was placed by the death of the conqueror—the rising power of Rome—the causes which wrought the ruin of the eastern empire, and placed Greece in the hands of the Turks—all these were events which appear confined and unconnected; but, viewed in the light of Providence, it is not difficult to see their relation to one another, and to the events in which they ended.

709. The results which have flowed from the existence and the actions of the Greeks, on some of which we have been dwelling, were most manifestly brought about by the wisdom of God, for the accomplishment of His purposes. If, among these purposes, we reckon the enlargement of our minds, and of the minds of all by whom their interesting career is seriously studied, we shall see a reason, beyond the gratification of a natural curiosity, why we should pursue this object calmly, conscientiously, steadily, and with a humble yet firm determination, to consecrate our minds, enriched with knowledge, and adorned with every Christian virtue, to the service of our Creator! Thus may the reading of the History of Greece help us to perform our own part in the history of our country and of the world; and, at the same time, we may be preparing for a place in that “city which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.”

THE END.

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